TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS

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TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS

BY

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FOREWORD

THE Department of Child Helping[1] of the Russell Sage Foundation completed in 1924 a detailed study of 151 public institutions for delinquent boys and delinquent girls in the United States, including a few private institutions supported chiefly by public funds. The work of such schools is unique, technical, and vitally important, but up to the time that this study was undertaken no complete and detailed information respecting these institutions was available.

The Department of Child Helping entered upon the study to inform the public and awaken its interest in these schools, and to assist trustees and superintendents to improve the methods, standards, and conditions of their work. The undertaking has received the personal and cordial co-operation of executives of training schools from Maine to California and from Florida to Washington.

The Field Work. Two members of the staff of the Department of Child Helping were assigned to the study: William H. Slingerland, Ph.D.,[2] and Margaret Reeves, M.A., who were selected because of their special experience and fitness for the undertaking. Dr. Slingerland had been for eleven years superintendent of a children's society, including a home for dependent children, and for ten years as a special agent of the Department of Child Helping of the Foundation had visited and studied institutions for children in all parts of the United States. Miss Reeves had been engaged in social work for approximately ten years, including institutional and social case work, Red Cross war work, community organization for social work and research.[3]

[1] In October, 1924, this department was discontinued and its director, Hastings H. Hart, was appointed consultant in Delinquency and Penology, a service maintained by the Foundation.

[2] Dr. Slingerland died in 1924 just after he had completed making his investigation.

[3] Since November, 1924, Miss Reeves has been director of the State Bureau of Child Welfare, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

The Plan of the Study. A personal visit of from two to five days to each school was made by the two field agents, Miss Reeves visiting the 57 schools that cared for girls only and Dr. Slingerland the 79 schools for boys, while the 15 schools that cared for both boys and girls were divided between them according to convenience.[1] From their personal observations, assisted by the superintendent, head teacher, physician, vocational instructor, bookkeeper, farmer, and other members of the staff, these agents filled out an elaborate schedule for each school. They gave close attention to the physical care and condition of the children; recreation, methods of literary, religious, and vocational training; the library; the character, quality, and efficiency of the house mothers and house fathers; and above all the pervading spirit and morale of the institution—trustees, superintendent, school teachers, vocational teachers, cottage officers, and children.

The Schedule. The following is an outline of the facts recorded on the schedule:

1. *General Information and Organization.* The name and location of the school, its purpose and management.

2. *The Plant.* Eligibility of site and lands; value and description of buildings; lighting and heating; equipment and facilities for pupils and staff. The question of site is of vital importance since many public institutions have been located in the wrong place and must forever remain there because somebody donated land worth $5,000 to $10,000.

3. *The Staff.* Adequacy, quality, training, and efficiency of the superintendent and assistant superintendent; principals and academic teachers; instructors in morals and industries; physicians, dentists, nurses, psychologists or psychiatrists; farmer; field workers; house mothers and house fathers. The staff is far more important than the plant because competent people may do good work with inadequate equipment.

4. *Current Finances.* Budgets, appropriations and donations, accounting system.

5. *The Beneficiaries: Delinquent Children.* We employ the word "delinquent" in its common and accepted meaning, to in-

[1] For the list of the schools for girls studied, see Appendix A, p. 405. Schools that cared for both girls and boys have not been included in this volume.

clude children who commit acts which would be counted as crime if the offenders were adults, or whose conduct is such as to expose them to the liability of becoming vicious or depraved. The laws and the juvenile courts in most states carefully avoid attaching the odium of viciousness or criminality to children of the juvenile court age. They are not found guilty of crime but are found in the condition of delinquency; they are not committed to the training school for punishment but for guidance, help, and training. Under this heading are included methods of and authority for reception; preliminary case study; classification; statistics of the children under care at the time of the study.

6. *Service within the Institution.* Physical care, including food, sleeping conditions, cleanliness, clothing, and other individual equipment; medical work, including service of physician, dentist, psychologist and psychiatrist; education and training, academic, æsthetic, vocational, and prevocational work; exercise and recreation; moral and religious training; constructive and corrective discipline.

7. *Co-operation.* Between the departments and members of the staff; with other social agencies and with the outside community. Teamwork is essential to success in this technical and complicated task.

8. *Records.* Indicating the essential facts to be recorded at the institution as a guide to the treatment of pupils in the school and their subsequent careful direction on parole.

9. *Spirit of the Institution.* This is the central and essential element of the study and at the same time the most difficult one to determine. It cannot be measured simply by graduated markings, computed into averages. It is partly a matter of competent observation and sound judgment and partly sensitiveness to the atmosphere of a place, and an intuitive perception of impalpable and vital forces. It raises such questions as the following: Are the superintendents inspired with devotion to the schools and to the children? Do they believe that they have one of the most important jobs in the world and are they trying with all their might to accomplish it? Do they know the heart of the child, how he thinks and how he feels? Have they qualities of leadership? Do the instructors realize that they have a peculiar task of extraordinary

difficulty which calls for pedagogic skill, ingenuity, originality, and unflagging optimism? Is the doctor trying to give these boys and girls as nearly as possible a perfect physical basis and to eliminate those bodily defects of eyes, ears, throat, feet or digestion which hamper their physical, mental, and spiritual development? Is the psychiatrist not only scientific but interested also in the child as a human problem? Does the house mother know how to win the confidence and respect of a rough, untutored boy and a wayward girl, to inspire in their hearts truthfulness, helpfulness and loyalty? Is the farmer able to resist the temptation to keep a boy at one task when he has become a good milker or can plough a straight furrow, or handle a team of horses without spoiling them? The writer remembers a training school girl who was kept scrubbing floors for a year and a half because she was faithful and uncomplaining.

A Constructive Study. This study has been conducted in an entirely constructive spirit. Dr. Slingerland and Miss Reeves endeavored to discover how organization, education, discipline, understanding, and sympathy might be applied to the development of aspiration, courage, and good teamwork in the minds of children to whom these things previously had been unknown. Defects of organization and method have been recorded, not in a critical but in a helpful spirit.

In the effort to understand the spirit, morale and ideals of the schools, a brief statement was obtained from each superintendent in regard to certain salient points in the treatment and training of delinquent children. The director of the Department of Child Helping has studied institutions for many years and learned long ago the inadequacy of the method of relying solely upon questionnaires mailed to executives to be filled out by those connected with an institution. While in this inquiry we have depended chiefly upon the direct observation and records of our own trained and experienced agents, on the other hand we recognize the value of the knowledge and intelligence of workers who are actually on the job. The following pages, therefore, contain, on many specific points, the opinions and convictions of the superintendents of the schools visited.

The authors have not discussed individual institutions in detail,

nor have they attempted to evaluate the work of different schools; but they have furnished the material whereby the trustees and superintendents of the several institutions might compare their own work with the ideals and standards indicated by this discussion.

Recently there have been representations in the public press which carried the impression that the juvenile reformatories of the United States are breeding places of crime; that their work is superficial and demoralizing and that in many of them graft, cruelty, and hypocrisy are freely practiced. Our agents found very few schools which might fairly be subject to such an indictment to a greater or less degree; but in most of the schools they discovered a marked advance in quality of service, equipment, standards; case work; and general morale.

The publication of this report has been unavoidably delayed, greatly to our regret. However, the general conditions in the training schools for delinquent boys and girls have remained remarkably stable since the study was completed, so that the facts and inferences here recorded are not out of date.

We have been able to obtain for 40 of the 57 schools included in this study figures showing the average number of their wards during the three years 1918, 1922, and 1927. These figures show only a slight increase in the number of wards throughout the period. The total figures for the 40 schools are: in 1918, 6295; in 1922, 6585; in 1927, 6978. The ratios to the population in the states in which these schools are situated show no increase. These ratios per 100,000 inhabitants are as follows: in 1918, 7.2; in 1922, 7.1; in 1927, 7.2. During the World War budgets and salaries were of necessity advanced and these new budgets have been generally maintained. Except in a few institutions, educational methods have undergone little change.

HASTINGS H. HART

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE, PURPOSE, AND METHODS OF THIS STUDY

IN THE autumn of 1924 the Department of Child Helping of the Russell Sage Foundation, as already stated in the Foreword, completed an intensive study of public training schools for delinquent boys and delinquent girls in the United States, a project that had been under consideration for some time.

The study of institutions for delinquent girls, to which the present volume is devoted included state, county, and municipal training schools; also a few private institutions which were found to be serving the functions of public training schools. While these latter are under private control, most of them are partly, if not wholly, supported by public funds; and they receive children committed by the courts. Included in this group of semi-private or private institutions are, for example: Sleighton Farm, the Girls' Department of the Glen Mills Schools, at Darlington,[1] Pennsylvania, managed by a private board but supported entirely from public funds; the Delaware Industrial School for Girls at Claymont, and the Brooklyn (New York) Training School and Home for Young Girls. These latter are under private boards but receive the major part of their support from public sources. The study included also a number of small institutions in the South for colored delinquent girls (nine in all) which practically serve the purposes of state training schools, some of which, no doubt, will be taken over eventually by their respective states.

Florence Crittenton Homes, Salvation Army Homes, and Houses of the Good Shepherd were not included. It was felt that the problems of these institutions are somewhat different from those of the group that we had under inquiry. Moreover, it was neces-

[1] Darlington is the name of the railroad station; but the name of the post office is Darling.

sary to limit the scope of the study. Also, it included only training schools for girls, not reformatories for women, although some of the former may keep girls until their twenty-first birthday; while some of the latter accept girls as young as eighteen. The average age, however, of the girls in the training schools—they are sometimes accepted as early as six or eight years—is considerably less than that of the inmates of reformatories. These two types of institutions, each with its own special problems, are not strictly comparable.

It has been our intention to confine this study to institutions that keep children for a sufficient period of time to permit some real training. Houses of detention and hospitals have not been studied. We included only those institutions giving care and training to so-called "delinquent" children, but some of these had also in care other classes of children not presenting special conduct problems. The states have their own definitions embodied in state laws as to who constitutes a juvenile delinquent. In general, these various definitions state that a juvenile delinquent is a child who violates a state law, commits an act for which he could be punished in the courts if he were an adult, is generally incorrigible, a runaway, has evil associates, or is in danger of becoming a lawbreaker. We are in complete harmony with the present tendency to consider the child with conduct difficulties not as an offender, but as one in special need of study, treatment, care, and training. The institutions which we visited included a good many that gave real training, some places of study and adjustment, as for example, El Retiro, at San Fernando, California; and a few places of "last resort" where old-fashioned reformatory ideas still persist.

Among the 57 schools for girls, 48 were for white girls or for both white and colored girls, and 9 were for colored girls alone. The type of control of the 57 schools for girls is as follows:

State	39
County	7
City	2
Semi-private or private	9
	57

Of the 15 institutions that care for boys and girls together, it

should be noted that 11 were under state control.[1] There were two states in the Union, Louisiana and Wyoming,[2] that provided no state training schools where delinquent girls might receive care.

For the statistical consideration of the 57 schools for girls we have divided the United States into four sectional groups: the Eastern Section, containing 11 states and the District of Columbia; the Southern Section, 14 states; the Midwestern Section, 12 states; and the Mountain and Coast Section, 11 states. This classification was devised for the report on the boys' schools, and we have adopted the same grouping for the girls' schools in order that there may be a basis for comparison.

EASTERN SECTION

Maine	New York
New Hampshire	New Jersey
Vermont	Delaware
Massachusetts	Pennsylvania
Rhode Island	Maryland
Connecticut	District of Columbia

SOUTHERN SECTION

Virginia	Florida
West Virginia	Alabama
North Carolina	Mississippi
South Carolina	Arkansas
Kentucky	Louisiana
Tennessee	Oklahoma
Georgia	Texas

MIDWESTERN SECTION

Ohio	North Dakota
Indiana	South Dakota
Michigan	Iowa
Illinois	Nebraska
Wisconsin	Missouri
Minnesota	Kansas

[1] They were situated in Vermont, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania (Morganza), Kentucky, Mississippi, North Dakota, South Dakota, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Arizona.

[2] Since the completion of our study, Wyoming has established a state institution for delinquent girls.

MOUNTAIN AND COAST SECTION

Montana	Nevada
Wyoming	Idaho
Colorado	California
New Mexico	Oregon
Arizona	Washington
Utah	

Each state and each school presents its own problems. The size of a school, its age, type of control, the degree of social development reached by the state, the financial resources of both it and the school, and the available supply of trained workers constitute some of the questions that need to be considered when attempts are made at comparisons. The sectional classification is one attempt to recognize diversities between the schools. Certain sectional differences seem to stand out; for example, on the Pacific Coast it is now necessary to pay higher salaries than elsewhere in the country, and in the South buildings may be of cheaper construction.

Some of the purposes of this intensive and extensive study of public training schools for delinquent girls have been to learn "the direction of the tide" in the work, to point out tendencies, and to assist in developing standards. After more than one hundred years of public institutional care for juvenile delinquents in this country, it appears worth while to try to find how far we have traveled toward the solution of this difficult problem. We need to restate our ideals. Only by a study of each institution can we hope to learn the general trends of the movement.

In each school we endeavored to discern the large aim toward which trustees and staffs were working, and at the same time to analyze and interpret present conditions. Among the states and local communities we sought to discover the best pieces of work being done. We had in mind also to record the particular contribution being made by each school and its staff in order that other institutions might be benefited. Every progressive institution is ready to try new plans. Every progressive superintendent feels that he or she still has much to learn from the experience of others. Through knowledge of other schools she learns what examples to avoid and what ones to follow. Her problem is often one of

adaptation rather than of adoption, since situations and needs differ with every school.

Only through an intensive study of the practices to be avoided, as well as those to be followed, can tentative minimum standards for the study, treatment, and training of juvenile delinquents in public institutions be evolved and maintained. While the present tendency is undoubtedly to emphasize preventive measures and to care for as many conduct cases as possible in the outside community under supervision but without institutional training, we shall probably need training schools for many years to come. It is essential, therefore, to use in these schools the best known methods adapted to the individual needs and the local situation of each school. We shall be glad if the detailed information we have secured by personal visits to 57 training schools for girls may be of use to superintendents and other workers who struggle daily with the problem of readjusting and re-educating delinquent girls and who themselves are perhaps in the best position to devise minimum standards.

It will be remembered that following a study of the juvenile courts of the United States made by the Federal Children's Bureau in 1921, and based upon its findings, a committee of workers appointed by the Chief of the Bureau, Julia C. Lathrop, drafted tentative standards for children's courts, which were mimeographed and sent to a large number of judges, probation officers, officers of child-caring agencies, and others interested in juvenile court work. At meetings which were subsequently held the specific suggestions received from a large proportion of those to whom a draft of these standards had been sent were carefully considered, and the final report of the committee was submitted to the Third Conference on Juvenile Court Standards held in Washington, D. C., on May 18, 1923. With the adoption of certain amendments the report was approved.

If steps similar to the above to discuss conditions, aims, and standards could be undertaken by superintendents of the training schools, a better understanding of the many technical problems involved, a higher quality of service, and increased efficiency would be the result.

In making the study of the 57 schools for girls, no questionnaires were mailed to superintendents or other workers to be filled out

by them. As already explained, we obtained information by personal visits to each institution.

We spent an average of three or four days on the grounds of each school, with considerably more time elsewhere in the state. The longest time at one institution was eight days. In these visits superintendents extended to us every courtesy in their power and co-operated to the fullest extent. Most of them felt that the study undertaken would be of value to them and to other institutions. They made it possible for us to talk freely with the workers separately, to visit all the departments of the institution, and to spend considerable time with the girls at their tasks and recreation. At many schools we were entertained in every cottage on the grounds before leaving. We attended clinics, academic and vocational classes, religious services, and student government meetings; and read as many social case records, including parole reports, as the time permitted, recording the information obtained on a previously prepared schedule covering 27 pages. Some of the topics covered by this schedule were: organization, system of control, staff, location of plant, buildings and equipment, financial support, classes of children in care, methods of reception, classification within the institution, physical care, medical work, dental work, psychological and psychiatric service, academic education, music, prevocational training, recreation, moral and religious training, constructive and corrective discipline, contacts with outside communities, parole and discharge. We tried to interpret the purpose and spirit of each school and in a general summary to set forth its unique or outstanding features, as well as its best features and its chief deficiencies. In addition to recording what we found from our own observation, we secured from each superintendent her personal views on numerous debatable questions and a discussion of some of the goals toward which she was working.

In so far as it was possible in a brief visit, we attempted to enter into the life of the school, to view it from within rather than from without. Many of the superintendents said that we were successful to a large degree in this effort. It should be stated that our study was made from a social worker's point of view. The writer makes no claim to being a specialist in the various fields of academic education, vocational training, recreation, medical work, psy-

chological and psychiatric service, and so forth. It was necessary, however, to observe the work done under each of these headings in each institution studied if a complete picture was to be obtained, since all these types of service are parts of a well-rounded program in a progressive training school for girls. Our discussion, therefore, is primarily from a social service point of view, rather than from that of a specialist in each of these fields.

Before leaving a state we talked with numerous persons who were in a position to help us in our interpretation of the school just visited, and, wherever possible, we had conferences with the presidents of the boards of managers and with other board members. In some instances we met with the entire board at their request. Juvenile court judges, probation officers, workers in juvenile protective agencies, policewomen, public school officials, psychiatrists and psychologists in co-operating clinics, and state officials were among those interviewed. Before leaving each institution it was our plan to write a tentative report of it based upon the detailed data contained in our filled-out schedule. Upon request, in a number of instances, copies of these preliminary reports were supplied to a superintendent, a board of managers, or a state board of control.

The unit of our inquiry was the institution, not the individual child. We attempted no studies of individual wards in the institutions or on parole. But while it was not our purpose to make case studies, we tried to analyze the case work undertaken by the institution as a part of our effort to learn how the school was functioning and to what degree it was meeting the needs of the children in its care. What we learned in doing this leads us to believe that, following such a study as has been made by the Russell Sage Foundation, a very real service would be performed on behalf of these delinquent children if some organization should conduct an intensive case study of groups of children in selected institutions and on parole. In order to form a correct estimate of the work of any particular institution, such a study should probably include a certain percentage of the population now in care, of those who have been paroled within the past two or three years, and, if possible, of those who have been out of the institution for ten years or more. Schools in the different sections of the country might be classified as to size, age, degree of advancement, and

Old Two-Room Farmhouse in Arkansas Where Constructive Work for Delinquent Colored Girls Was Started

Small One-Cottage Institution for Colored Girls, Mt. Meigs, Alabama

financial support. All these factors should be considered in any effort to estimate the work of an institution, as based on these case studies. One danger to be avoided would be to judge a school by its known failures rather than by its less conspicuous successes. There is also the question as to what constitutes success or failure.

If an attempt is made to relate the percentage of "successes" in a certain institution to the type of training given or to the supervision of its wards on parole, we must bear in mind that the early training and supervision received by many of the girls who have been on parole for long periods may be very different from the present practices in the same institution. It must also be borne in mind that the types of children received in institutions differ greatly. One institution may be used as a "place of last resort" by the courts of the state; another may be used for girls who merely have wayward tendencies, where the need is for preventive and educational measures; one institution may receive many low-grade feeble-minded children because there is inadequate state provision for them elsewhere; in another the majority of a school's charges may be of normal intelligence, with some above the average. A case study comprehensive enough to show a real cross-section of this work with juvenile delinquents would necessitate a number of trained field agents working over a considerable length of time. This was beyond the scope of the present undertaking.

Our hope is that the usefulness of this study will not be confined to the superintendents of training schools for girls. An effort has been made so to present the material that it may also be helpful to members of boards of managers of these and of similar institutions, to state boards of control, to state departments of public welfare, and to legislators concerned with state-wide social service programs; to juvenile court judges and probation officers before whom come daily the so-called juvenile delinquents; to workers in juvenile protective agencies and other societies engaged in case work with children; and to public school teachers and superintendents of school systems who want to understand and treat wisely their pupils with conduct disorders; even to parents and families who may have an unadjusted daughter whom it is their earnest effort to keep from becoming a ward of one of the very institutions described.

PART I

THE INSTITUTION

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF INSTITUTIONAL CARE FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS

THE movement in the United States to provide institutions for the care and training of delinquent boys and girls extends over a period of more than one hundred years. In the spring of 1824 the first institution for juvenile delinquents in this country, the New York House of Refuge, was incorporated, and in January, 1825, it opened its doors in a remodeled building on land now known as Madison Square.

Situation Prior to 1824

Prior to 1824 no state had provided separate institutions for children convicted of offenses. The common practice was to send them to jails or prisons, together with adult offenders. While the founding of houses of refuge was based in part on the need for special care for juvenile offenders, they, however, admitted some adults as well as children, although the former were individuals who were considered in need of special attention.

The Society of Friends was the first group in the United States to concern itself with prisons and the problems of penology. This society, long known for its benevolence, sought not only to secure improvements in the housing and the general care of prisoners, but also to discover measures for the prevention of crime. The stirring example of the efforts of Elizabeth Fry, the noted English philanthropist, on behalf of the miserable and neglected women in English prisons, and the initiative shown by the English Society of Friends, spurred on the American members of this faith. Dr. John H. Griscom, a member of the Society of Friends in New York City, in 1817 invited several persons to his home in William Street for the purpose of considering "some practical measure for the cure of pauperism and the diminution of crime."[1] "As the

[1] Peirce, B. K., A Half Century with Juvenile Delinquents. D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1869, p. 33.

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result of this informal meeting, a number of influential gentlemen were invited to meet at the New York Hospital on the 16th of December, 1817. . . . A committee was appointed [of which Dr. Griscom was chairman] 'to prepare a constitution and a statement of the prevailing causes of pauperism, with suggestions relative to the most suitable and efficient remedies.' The meeting also constituted itself into a 'Society for the Prevention of Pauperism.' "[1] This body immediately began to inquire into conditions in the city penal institutions. The members found them shocking: children housed and associating with thieves, prostitutes, and "lunatics"; no proper classification of offenders; crowded and insanitary quarters. In the Society's second report dated December 29, 1819, the presence of children in the city penitentiary at Bellevue, "three miles from the City Hall" is described: "Here, then, is one great school of vice and desperation, confirmed and unrepentant criminals. . . . With convicts of this character we place those novices in guilt, those unfortunate children from 10 to 18 years of age, who from neglect of parents, from idleness and misfortune, have never had a sense of morality, contravened some penal statute without reflecting on the consequences, and for a hasty violation, been doomed to the penitentiary by the condemnation of the law. And is this the place for *reform?*" The report recommended the erection of a special building within the grounds of the penitentiary for the younger offenders. For the time this was a notable step in advance, although such a measure would not now be tolerated.

In 1822 the Society took one more forward step in pointing out the great need for providing separate places of detention for juvenile offenders with the aim of effecting their reformation. An interesting and valuable paper, issued by the Society in that year, on the Penitentiary System and Prison Discipline reads: "These prisons should be rather schools for instruction than places for punishment like our present State prisons, where the young and old are confined indiscriminately. The youth confined there should be placed under a course of discipline severe and unchanging, but alike calculated to subdue and conciliate. The wretchedness and misery of the offender should not be the object of the punish-

[1] *Ibid.* p. 38.

ment inflicted; the end should be his reformation and future usefulness."[1]

A strong advocate for an institution in which these youthful offenders could be housed, protected from bad associates, and taught how to become good citizens, was Hugh Maxwell, then district attorney of New York. He had seen lawless children, too young to send to prison, discharged by the courts who, from lack of the right kind of guardianship, later develop into dangerous criminals. Replying to inquiries of Dr. Griscom's committee, he said: "Many notorious thieves infesting the city were at first idle, vagrant boys, imprisoned for a short period to keep them from mischief. A second and third imprisonment is inflicted, the prison becomes familiar and agreeable, and at the expiration of their sentence they come out accomplished in iniquity. . . . I regret to state that lately high crimes have been perpetrated in several instances by boys not over sixteen, who, at first, were idle street vagrants, and by degrees thieves, burglars, and robbers."[2]

A special committee which was appointed to write the sixth annual report of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism in 1823 decided to consider almost exclusively the problem of juvenile delinquency. The chairman of this committee was James W. Gerard, a young lawyer who had been practicing in New York City only a few years. Mr. Gerard was destined to play a leading part in the movement to secure special care and training for juvenile delinquents. In the report which he read at a large meeting held on February 7, 1823, he stated: "Those who are in the habit of attending our Criminal Courts, as jurors, or otherwise, must be convinced of the very great increase of Juvenile Delinquency, and of the necessity of immediate measures to arrest so great an evil. What increases the cause for apprehension is that punishment produces no reformation, and the young convict is no sooner released from prison than he is again arraigned for other crimes, until time confirms *him* to be a hardened offender, whom youthful indiscretion, or the force of example, at first caused to deviate from rectitude." The report went on to declare that "There should be a separate building for the imprisonment of young

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 41–42.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 43–44.

offenders, both before and after trial." It outlined the project of a house of refuge, but it gave particular emphasis to the need of providing a shelter for young delinquents *after their discharge from prison.* Mr. Gerard's understanding and grasp of the subject had not yet reached the point where he considered that a house of refuge should entirely replace the prison as far as the care of juvenile delinquents was concerned.

On June 12, 1823, at a meeting of the Society, the managers took the next step. The members elected a committee with Dr. Griscom as chairman, "to prepare a detailed plan for a House of Refuge." In presenting his report, first to a private audience and later, in December, 1823, to a public one presided over by the mayor, Dr. Griscom insisted that "the children of neglectful, intemperate, vicious parents, and those who are trained to sin should be *saved from prison* even though they may have been guilty of actual crime."[1] Referring to the projected house of refuge, he stated: "Such an institution would in time exhibit scarcely any other than the character of a decent school and manufactory. It need not be invested with the insignia of a prison; it should be surrounded only with a high fence, like many factories in the neighborhood of cities, and carefully closed in front."[2] Considerable distance had thus been traveled since 1819, when the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism had felt that the needs of juvenile delinquents would be adequately met by erecting a separate building within the confines of the penitentiary.

As far as we have been able to learn, the 1823 report of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism contains the first specific mention of delinquent girls. Dr. Griscom gives as one class needing care in the proposed house of refuge, "delinquent females, who are either too young to have acquired habits of fixed depravity, or those whose lives have in general been virtuous, but who, having yielded to the seductive influences of corrupt associates, have suddenly to endure the bitterness of lost reputation, and are cast forlorn and destitute upon a cold and unfeeling public, full of compunction for their errors, and anxious to be restored to the paths of innocence and usefulness."[3] It was the opinion of Dr. Griscom

[1] Peirce, B. K., A Half Century with Juvenile Delinquents. p. 55.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 57.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 58.

that, "occupying apartments entirely distinct from those of the other sex, and separated from them by impassable barriers, the females might contribute, by their labor, to promote the interests of the establishment, and at the same time derive from it their full and appropriate share of benefit."[1]

Dr. Griscom's paper met with universal acceptance by the audience, whose feelings were so aroused by other eloquent speakers that "the meeting unanimously resolved" that such an institution as had been suggested should be established at once. The sum of $800 was immediately subscribed by those present and later $18,000 was obtained for the project. At this time also the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism was reorganized into the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents. A temporary board of managers, with 25 members, was appointed, among whom were Dr. Griscom and Mr. Maxwell. On March 29, 1824, an act of incorporation was secured by the Society from the New York Legislature. Thus began the movement for the special care and training of those unhappy boy and girl offenders against the law, which, after more than one hundred years, is still marching on.

It has seemed worth while to trace in some detail the early ideas and the successive steps which culminated in the establishment of this first institution for juvenile delinquents in America—the New York House of Refuge. We need to keep its history in mind if we hope to understand fully later developments. These leaders of the first quarter of the nineteenth century had progressed a long way in their thinking, probably as far as any group since that time in an equal number of years. As with most reformers, their ideals were far in advance of the early practices, and the first house of refuge only partly realized them.

New York House of Refuge

Soon after receiving the articles of incorporation, the Board of Managers applied to the city council for a grant of land for the proposed new institution. A site containing about four acres was decided upon, which included part of the land now forming Madison Square. This site, now in the heart of New York City, was then in the open country. Here in remodeled soldiers' barracks,

[1] *Ibid.* p. 59.

which had been used in the war of 1812, the New York House of Refuge, the first public institution in the United States for delinquent boys and girls, was opened in January, 1825. "Six unhappy, wretched girls and three boys, clothed in rags, and with squalid countenances"[1] constituted the original population. This enterprise had other distinguishing characteristics besides being the first institution in the United States to provide for the care and training of youthful delinquents separate from adult offenders. The Fifth Annual Report of the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents, dated 1830, states:

> The legislature has very much enlarged the objects of our institution, and intrusted to its managers powers that have not heretofore been delegated. These are essential to its beneficent action, and mark the great difference between it and other institutions that previously existed. . . . There is in no case any other sentence than that it [the child] shall "there be dealt with according to law." That is, it may if not released by some legal process, be there detained, if the managers should think it unfit to be sooner discharged, until it arrives at age. Parents or guardians, from the time it is legally sentenced to the Refuge, lose all control of its person. When it is believed that a child is reformed, the managers have power, with its consent, to bind it as an apprentice, till the age of eighteen years, [later changed to twenty-one years], if a female, and if a boy till the age of twenty-one. It is these important features that mark the difference between our institution and all others that previously existed; and it is in this sense that we may say with truth, that the New York House of Refuge was the first of its kind ever established.

The city in its growth soon reached this institution, so that by 1839 it was necessary to secure another site. A block of ground at Twenty-third Street and East River was chosen, and the children were established in their new home early in October, 1839. By 1854 the rapidly growing city had again encroached upon them, and moreover the institution had outgrown the buildings on this second site. Thirty acres of land on the south shore of Randall's Island were therefore secured, large new buildings were erected, together with a "formidable wall of enclosure." In the autumn of 1854, 400 children were removed to Randall's Island, the present location of the New York House of Refuge.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 78.

At first, the New York House of Refuge received children from one city only. In 1826 the New York Legislature authorized it to accept children from any city or county in the state. During the early years contributions for its support were secured from members and subscribers of the Society which had been instrumental in its establishment. Later, support was entirely from public funds (state and city). The private board remained; so that here we find a combination of state aid, city aid, and private control.

Other Early Reformatories

The second institution in the United States for juvenile delinquents was entirely a municipal undertaking. The House of Reformation in Boston was established by that city in 1826. At first it occupied a part of the building used as a house of correction for adults. In 1837 a separate building was utilized for the children, but it was located near the House of Correction. In 1858 a new site for the House of Reformation was secured on Deer Island; in 1889 the Girls' Department was closed; in 1895 the Boys' Department was transferred to Rainsford Island. For many years this institution for juveniles had been under the control of the same city officials who were responsible for the care of adult paupers and prisoners. When in 1897 a special department charged with the care of children in institutions was established, this enterprise was placed under the supervision of the trustees of that department. Later the name, House of Reformation, was changed to the Suffolk School for Boys.

The third institution for juvenile delinquents was the Philadelphia House of Refuge, incorporated in 1826 and opened in 1828. The plan of organization was very similar to that of the New York House of Refuge. Support was partly private and partly from public funds. The majority of the members of its large board of managers were elected by the contributors to the work at the annual meeting, three members being appointed by the court of quarter sessions of Philadelphia County and two by the mayor of Philadelphia. We have here a combination of state and county financial support, with a private board of managers.

The first site of the institution consisted of five acres at the corner of Francis Lane and Wissahickon Road in Philadelphia

County. Twenty years later it was moved to Twenty-second and Poplar Streets, Philadelphia, which was then in the open country. From this location in 1892, the Boys' Department was moved to a farm of approximately 400 acres at Glen Mills, Delaware County, where buildings on the cottage system were constructed. The Girls' Department remained a congregate, city institution until 1910, when under the progressive leadership of Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, it was moved to the new modern home called Sleighton Farm at Darlington, Delaware County. One year later the name of the organization was changed from the House of Refuge to the Glen Mills Schools. Sleighton Farm (of which the legal name is Girls' Department of the Glen Mills Schools) has taken a leading part in the development of high standards of work in training schools for girls. One board of managers still serves both schools.

These three houses of refuge in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia were for some years the only institutions in the United States for delinquent children. The next institution of this type was not established until 1845, when a municipal reformatory, caring for boys only, was founded in New Orleans. In 1847 the State Reform School for Boys[1] in Westboro, Massachusetts, was established—the first reform school, it is said, to be founded in this country, or in Europe, by the state and governed by trustees appointed by the state's executive.

From the beginning of this movement to take children from the prisons and association with adult offenders and to establish special reformatories for them, the girls were separated as much as possible from the boys, while still being cared for in the same institution. In the original House of Refuge in New York, before the end of the first year a separate building for girls had been constructed. An auxiliary Board of Ladies was formed to supervise the work with them. In describing this board an historian of the period states that: "Ladies of high reputation and well-known benevolence have cheerfully met the labors and responsibilities incident to this important work, and have not only yielded their valuable suggestions, as to the reformation of their own sex, to the managers, but have proffered their warm sym-

[1] Since 1884 the Lyman School for Boys.

Industrial School for Girls, Lancaster, Massachusetts

Girls' Industrial School, Delaware, Ohio

ATTRACTIVE CAMPUSES

pathies and counsels to the officers of the female department, and often addressed and prayed with the girls."[1]

While in the New York House of Refuge the girls lived in a separate building, their matron was responsible to the superintendent of the Refuge. Although in the beginning a similar situation prevailed in the Philadelphia institution, later the Girls' Department became entirely distinct, with its own woman superintendent. Not until 1854 did legislative action in any state provide an entirely separate institution for delinquent girls.

Massachusetts State Industrial School for Girls, 1854

The distinction of founding the first state industrial school for girls in the United States belongs to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The site chosen was an old brick mansion situated at the edge of the town of Lancaster and surrounded by a good-sized farm. The campus of the Industrial School for Girls, with its old elms, sloping green turf, shaded walks, and colonial buildings, is one of the most attractive sites belonging to such a school in the United States. The original estate was increased by a gift from the town of Lancaster of its old common, which adjoined the school's property.

The report of the Massachusetts commissioners for the establishment of a state reform school for girls under the resolves of April 12, 1854, shows that these interested citizens gave careful thought and study to the numerous problems involved before drawing their plans for this first training school for delinquent girls. They personally visited the State Reform School for Boys at Westboro and later the Houses of Refuge in New York and Philadelphia. By the use of the questionnaire method they secured the opinions of distinguished residents of Massachusetts and of neighboring states regarding policies, administration, and other matters of importance.

Up to the middle of the century, all public institutions in this country had been built on the congregate plan; high walls enclosed the yards; cells and dormitories were fastened by locks and bolts. The commissioners in Massachusetts reported to the legislature their desire that the proposed Industrial School for Girls be built

[1] Peirce, B. K., A Half Century with Juvenile Delinquents. p. 92.

on the "family plan," patterned somewhat after the celebrated agricultural and industrial school for boys at Mettray, France, which at the time was the object of much discussion. From a study of the report we learn that, "The commissioners can entertain no doubt that the organization should be that of a family and the government, as nearly as practicable, that of a parent. They believe that great moral and religious power abides in the idea of parental government and family organization, which has not been developed in any public reformatory institution in this country, and that, if this legitimate power were wrought out into ultimate action, it would effect far more in the way of reforming juvenile delinquents than measures based upon any other idea."[1]

The commissioners believed that the best results could be obtained from family units composed of not more than eight or 12 individuals. However, for practical reasons they recommended the construction of cottages, each providing for 30 persons. As a matter of fact, most of the units built had a capacity of from 25 to 40 girls each. No walls or fences enclosed this "village of homes" and most of the windows were without protection. It is said that during the first ten years of its history only two girls escaped, and they ran away before the school had been opened six months. From the beginning there were single rooms for the older pupils and dormitories for the younger ones. The establishment in 1854 of the Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster, Massachusetts, embodying the best known ideas of the time, constituted a great step in advance. And the distance had been traveled in little more than a quarter of a century. The original House of Refuge in New York, at first practically a juvenile prison, was at the time only about a quarter of a century old.

Development by Decades

During the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, the movement to secure separate schools for delinquent girls, originated in Massachusetts, was definitely launched and the following six institutions for delinquent girls were founded:

1865 Chicago Home for Girls, Chicago, Illinois.

1866 Montrose School for Girls, Woodensburg (Baltimore), Maryland.

[1] House Document No. 43 (Massachusetts), 1855. p. 12.

1868 Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut.
1868 Training School for Girls, Mitchellville, Iowa.
1869 Girls' Industrial School, Delaware, Ohio.
1869 Indiana Girls' School, Indianapolis, Indiana.

All these schools are still in existence; some have changed from private to public control. Moreover, the types of cases received have changed somewhat. The Chicago Home for Girls has continued to be a private undertaking, although in some respects it serves as a municipal institution. The Montrose School for Girls and Long Lane Farm began as private institutions, but were later taken over by their respective states. In Indiana the girls were first housed in a separate department of the Women's State Prison, but in 1907 the new and modern cottage institution (Indiana Girls' School) was opened at Clermont. The good work done by the early institutions gained many adherents to the idea that there should be separate training schools for girls.

The increasing acceptance of this idea is shown by the number of training schools for girls included in our study that were established in each successive decade.

Established	Number of Schools
Prior to 1860	2
1860–1870	6
1870–1880	3
1880–1890	8
1890–1900	5
1900–1910	4
1910–1920	23
Since Jan. 1, 1920	6
Total	57

The outstanding features of the above are that 29 of the 57 girls' schools visited, or 51 per cent, have been established since 1910; and that 23 of the 57, or 40 per cent, were founded in the decade between 1910 and 1920. Some of the reasons for this unusual development and the factors involved will be considered later in this chapter.

Outgrowth of Institutions for Both Sexes

Although the principle of separate provision for delinquent girls had been increasingly accepted by thoughtful citizens, numerous states, nevertheless, continued to build reform schools of the older type where both sexes were cared for together. As the girls in these institutions increased in numbers and as the agitation for their separation from the boys grew, the girls' departments were cut off to form new training schools. A number of the public institutions for girls, as shown by the following summaries, are outgrowths of older institutions which cared for both boys and girls.

Montrose School for Girls, Woodensburg (Baltimore), Maryland. In 1830, a private institution for both boys and girls, known as the House of Refuge, was incorporated, but the first buildings were not opened in Baltimore until 1855. In 1866 the girls were removed to the Female House of Refuge. It afterward became the Maryland Industrial School for Girls. This institution was taken over by the state in May, 1918, and in 1922 its name was changed to the Montrose School for Girls.

Opportunity Farm for Girls, Cincinnati, Ohio. This institution is the outgrowth of the House of Refuge, established in Cincinnati in 1850. Both boys and girls were cared for in the older institution until August, 1915, when the girls were transferred to their present location.

Oaklawn School for Girls, Howard, Rhode Island. In 1850 the city of Providence established a municipal reform school. This institution was adopted by the state on July 1, 1880. For two years both boys and girls continued to live in the old buildings in Providence and were under the supervision of one superintendent (a man). In July, 1882, the girls were moved to the new Oaklawn School, which was given into the charge of a woman superintendent.

Home School for Girls, Sauk Center, Minnesota. In 1867 the state authorized the erection of an institution for delinquent boys and girls which was opened in 1869 in the outskirts of St. Paul. It was moved in 1891 to Red Wing. In 1907 the legislature created a separate institution for girls at Sauk Center, to which they moved the following year.

Girls' Industrial School, Geneva, Nebraska. In 1879 the state of Nebraska enacted legislation creating an institution for delinquent boys and girls which was opened in 1881 at Kearney. In 1891 the state authorized the establishment of a separate Girls' Industrial School, which was ready for occupancy in Geneva in 1893, when the girls were transferred from Kearney.

California School for Girls, Ventura, California. In 1889 California passed an act creating a school for delinquent boys and girls. The institution was opened in 1891 at Whittier. The legislature of 1913 provided for a separate school for girls and in 1914 a board of trustees (all women) assumed control of the Girls' Department of the Whittier State School. The girls continued to live at Whittier until their own school at Ventura was opened in 1916.

State School for Girls, Grand Mound, Washington. The state legislature in 1890 established an institution for delinquent boys and girls. In 1913 a State School for Girls was authorized by legislative enactment, which was opened in Grand Mound in 1914 with girls transferred from the school for boys and girls at Chehalis.

Vocational School for Girls, Helena, Montana. Both boys and girls were cared for in the institution at Miles City, which was founded in 1893. The state legislature of 1919 created a Vocational School for Girls. The girls were moved from Miles City to their new home at Helena on April 7, 1920.

Private Undertakings First

As in many other movements, private initiative paved the road which led to public action. In the states listed below the need of separate care for girls was early recognized; but before public authorities were ready to found separate institutions, citizens met the situation by establishing private institutions. After a demonstration had been made by these private training schools for girls, and as sentiment grew in their favor, they were adopted by their respective states. The following girls' schools, now all public institutions, were formerly private undertakings:

Location of School	Date Founded	Date Became State Institution
Maryland, Woodensburg	1866	1918
Connecticut, Middletown	1868	1921
Maine, Hallowell	1872	1898
Wisconsin, Milwaukee	1875	1917
Kansas, Beloit	1888	1889
Virginia, Bon Air	1906	1914
Alabama, Birmingham	1908	1911
Virginia, Peaks Turnout (Colored)	1914	1920
Delaware, Marshallton (Colored)	1920	1921

Separate Care for Colored Girls

In most of the early schools for juvenile delinquents in this country no classification or separation of races within the boundaries of the institution was observed. In the North the colored boys and girls, who are much fewer in number than the white children, lived with these latter in the same cottages. In the South, as a rule, the schools for juvenile delinquents received white children only. One important exception was the Philadelphia House of Refuge, founded in 1826, which established a separate department for colored children on William Street, southwest of Girard College and northwest of the Eastern State Penitentiary, somewhat removed from the department for white children.

Gradually people came to recognize the necessity for making adequate provision for the care of delinquent colored girls both in the North and in the South. Special cottages for colored girls were opened in a few northern institutions, and in the South a number of separate training schools for colored girls were established. In the North, where separate cottages or separate departments exist, they are occasionally in charge of colored matrons, with colored teachers and colored parole officers. In the majority of the northern institutions, however, colored and white girls still live together in the same cottages. Many of them have only a few colored girls in care. In the nine institutions for colored girls, with one exception (the Industrial Home for Colored Girls at Melvale, Maryland), the workers are colored.

These training schools for colored girls are chiefly in the South, and with one exception, they have been established since 1908. Four of the nine are public institutions; five at the time of our study were still private undertakings. Some are equipped to care for a small number of girls only, while the need is great for a larger institution. In some instances financial support is inadequate and the school practically lives from "hand to mouth." Several of these training schools for colored girls have been established through the efforts of the state federations of colored women's clubs, which have recognized the need for adequate guidance and protection of delinquent colored girls. The following is a complete list of institutions for colored girls included in our study:

Name of School	When Founded	Type of Control
Industrial Home for Colored Girls, Melvale, Maryland	1882	Private
Industrial Home for Negro Girls, Tipton, Missouri	1909	Public
Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls, Peaks Turnout, Virginia	1914	Public
Dorcas Home, Houston, Texas	1914	Private
Fairwold Industrial School for Colored Girls, Columbia, South Carolina	1919	Private
Industrial School for Colored Girls, Marshallton, Delaware	1920	Public
Oklahoma Industrial Home for Colored Girls, Taft, Oklahoma	1920	Public
Florida Industrial Home for Colored Girls, Ocala, Florida	1921	Private
Girls' Rescue Home, Mt. Meigs, Alabama	1921	Private

Girls' Schools since 1900

The public training schools for girls as a group are younger institutions than are similar schools for boys. As we have already seen, the earliest juvenile reformatories cared either for both boys and girls, or for boys only. The great development of girls' training schools since 1900 cannot be explained by any one factor. As already noted, eight of the nine schools for colored girls visited have been established since the beginning of the twentieth century. No doubt the need which has been increasingly recognized for adequate care of the colored constitutes one factor in this recent increase in the number of girls' schools. Numerous other elements have entered into the expansion of girls' training schools. One is the unusual extension of organized social endeavor in various lines in the past twenty years. The movement to secure proper facilities for training delinquent girls is only in line with the development of adequate social programs in other directions. Most of the recently founded schools are situated in the South and the Far West where many aspects of social work have taken on new life in the past two decades. In these states we have new, efficient state boards of public welfare, schools of social work, juvenile courts, and children's societies. As each social service organization is developed in a new state, and does its work well, need is felt for

other organized attempts to meet various social problems. One factor in the recent extension of these girls' schools is no doubt the growing interest of all classes of women in the welfare and education of children, especially such organized groups as women's clubs.

Another important factor in the unusual expansion in this period was undoubtedly the World War with its attendant large problems of social hygiene. Between April 1, 1918 and July 1, 1920, the federal government granted approximately $427,000 to 43 institutions for women and girls. These included 10 training schools for girls, one reformatory for women, and 32 detention houses. The assistance received from the government included aid in establishment, grants toward enlargement, and assistance in maintenance. The major purpose of federal assistance was to develop quickly a program for the protection of soldiers and sailors against venereal disease by aiding in the development and enlargement of facilities to care for and treat infected women and girls. In each case, the state or local community raised an amount equivalent to the sum received from the federal government. The scope of this aid may be seen from the statement on page 45 showing the girls' training schools that received federal aid during the period mentioned.[1]

The total effect of this federal aid in stimulating the movement to secure adequate institutional care for delinquent girls is not to be measured solely by the number of schools which received their start through such help or by the number whose funds were augmented. The attitude of the federal government toward the problem and the efficient work of its field agents unquestionably had much to do with the development of other schools not obtaining government grants.

Many of the newer training schools for girls were begun under primitive conditions and with much less financial backing than the older institutions seemed to think was necessary. In a number of cases they were opened in old-fashioned farmhouses before any new buildings were erected. In Montana the Vocational School

[1] Dietzler, Mary Macey, Detention Houses and Reformatories as Protective Social Agencies. U. S. Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, Washington, 1922, pp. 36, 37, 40.

Name of School	White or Colored Girls	Aided in Establishment	Other Financial Aid	Total Amount of Aid
State Training School for Girls, Birmingham, Ala.	White	No	Yes	$2,004.21
Pine Bluff School,[a] Pine Bluff, Ky.	White	Yes	Yes	34,610.90
State Home and Industrial School for Girls and Women, Samarcand, N. C.	White	Yes	Yes	69,549.40
Girls' Department of the Glen Mills Schools (Sleighton Farm), Darlington, Pa.	Both	No	Yes	1,597.20
South Carolina Industrial School for Girls, Columbia, S. C.	White	Yes	No	40,000.00
Girls' Training School, Gainesville, Texas	White	No	Yes	7,136.99
Dorcas Home, Houston, Texas	Colored	No	Yes	1,656.95
Virginia Home and Industrial School for Girls, Bon Air	White	No	Yes	30,000.00
Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls, Peaks Turnout	Colored	No	Yes	25,102.00
Fairwold Industrial School for Colored Girls, Columbia, S. C.	Colored	Yes	Yes	4,259.53
Total				$215,917.18

[a] This institution was later abandoned and the girls removed to the Kentucky Houses of Reform (for boys and girls) at Greendale.

for Girls was opened in 1921 in an old log farmhouse, a tent-house in which the girls slept, and another tent which served as a dining room. At the time of our visit one new cottage had been completed. The academic classes were being held in a deserted country schoolhouse a little distance away.

In New Mexico the small new Girls' Welfare Home had been established in a private residence in Albuquerque, but was soon moved to a country site. The girls now live in a Spanish adobe house which has been built around a patio, in accordance with the custom of the Spanish-speaking residents of this locality.

In North Carolina a private winter camp school for boys, which had met financial difficulties because of the war, was purchased by the state as a site for the girls' training school. For a time, all girls and the staff slept in the original manor house and in a

screened-in outdoor pavilion. When the water supply gave out the girls carried water up a long hill. For a time the only laundry equipment consisted of tubs and kettles beside the lake. Just before our visit several new inexpensive frame cottages without plaster had been completed and occupied.

The spirit of these institutions, as well as their type of housing, differs greatly from the original reform schools for juvenile delinquents. In many of the newer training schools for girls self-expression has taken the place of repression. Where before were locks and bars, we now find much freedom and outdoor life for the girls. Increasing emphasis is placed on constructive rather than on corrective discipline, and the girl is constantly being considered rather than the institution. A very long road has been traveled since the House of Refuge in New York was opened approximately one hundred years ago. It is to be regretted that not all the schools have traversed the entire distance, for some have stopped by the wayside, satisfied with their progress. Others, however, feel that they have made only a beginning in the course they wish and intend to follow.

CHAPTER II

SYSTEMS OF CONTROL

WHEN a new state training school for girls is contemplated, obviously the first step is to secure organized public sentiment in its favor; the next is the passage of the necessary legislation. The act under which a school is to be operated should declare clearly the purpose and function of the new institution. It should include, among other items, a definition of the types of cases to be received, methods of reception, and a general outline of what the school should do for the children to be cared for in regard to study, treatment, and re-education. The act should provide for the appointment of some form of board of control or management, or should give the powers of administration to an existing department or board. If the school is to be opened at once, the act must also carry an appropriation.

The ideal plan is for a board of management, before it attempts any detailed work, to seek the best trained, most efficient woman available as a superintendent of the new training school. The board, with her assistance, will then select or recommend a site for the plant and agree upon tentative plans for the new buildings that are to be erected from the point of view of the work to be done in them, and draw up both an immediate and a long-time program for the work. Old buildings found on the properties may be carefully remodeled to fit the new uses. Ideally, all these things should be done before any girls have been received for care.

As we have noted, the earliest institutions for juvenile delinquents in the United States were managed by private boards, although part, if not all, of the financial support was received from public sources and children were committed by the courts. When these private institutions were later adopted by their respective states, and when new state training schools were created, various systems of control were evolved.

The first state boards of charities were purely supervisory, with powers to investigate institutions and offer recommendations but not to administer them.[1] The plan in operation in most states at that time included a separate board of managers for each institution, with whom rested the administrative authority. Gradually a number of states created central boards of control with administrative powers, and the separate institutional boards in these states passed out of existence or remained in an advisory capacity only. Some states have adopted the system of a single state commissioner, which is practically a provision for one-man power. These state directors of institutions have much responsibility and power.

It has been said that there are almost as many systems of control for state institutions as there are states. While this is not literally true, the forms of control and the methods of selecting board members vary greatly among the states. In the nine private or semi-private training schools for delinquent girls included in our study, for instance, there are now six different methods of selecting board members. In some states the system of control has changed several times. Some states are establishing, or proposing to establish, systems which seem successful in other states; while others have adopted systems that have been discarded elsewhere. Here, as with other institutional problems, there is no one "best system" for the United States as a whole, but each state can benefit from the general experience. What works well in one will not necessarily be the best plan for another. A form of control should be adopted for each institution which best accords with the local conditions of the particular state.

Forms of Control

The following table exhibits the various systems of control for the 48 public and semi-public institutions for delinquent girls, excluding the nine private or semi-private institutions above mentioned:

[1] Butler, Amos W., "State Boards of Control and Administration vs. State Boards of Charities and Corrections." In Proceedings of the Annual Congress of the American Prison Association, Detroit, 1922, pp. 350–354.

SYSTEMS OF CONTROL

Form of Control	State	County	City	Total
	Number of Schools			
State board or commission for all state institutions	16	—	—	16
State board for correctional or juvenile institutions only	5	—	—	5
A separate board publicly appointed for each institution	14	3	—	17
A single state commissioner	4	2	2	8
County body serving as managing board	—	2	—	2
Total schools	39	7	2	48

State Control. The above statement shows that the two most common systems of control for public training schools for girls are a state board or commission that serves all state institutions and a publicly appointed board that serves one institution only. Of the 48 public institutions listed above, 17, just over one-third, are under the management of boards publicly appointed that serve their schools exclusively; and 16, or one-third, are administered by state boards or commissions for all state institutions. Included in the 17 schools under the control of individual boards there are, however, three which are not state institutions; while all of the 16 controlled by central boards are state institutions. This means that of 39 state training schools for girls, 16 are now controlled by central state boards, while 14 are administered by individual boards. Five additional state schools are controlled by central state boards or departments for correctional or juvenile institutions, and four are managed by the cabinet, or one-man power system. Adding these nine to the 16 under the control of boards or departments for all state institutions, we find that 25, or two-thirds, of the state training schools for girls are administered by some centralized system, while 14, or one-third, are administered by separate boards. Thus, at the present time, a definite trend is discernible toward some form of centralized control for state institutions, and the number of states adopting such a system is increasing.

A large number of workers in state training schools for girls stated that they considered the most desirable plan of control a publicly appointed board of administration for each institution.

The reasons they gave included many of the arguments often advanced against a centralized system of control:

1. Financial economy is not and should not be the chief consideration of a training school. Its fundamental task is the study, treatment, and re-education of delinquents, necessarily an expensive piece of work which should not be compared with the task of certain other types of institutions.

2. There is great danger of mischievous political interference in a centralized system, whether the form be an administrative board for all state institutions, one for a particular group of institutions, or the cabinet system with a single state executive.

3. The interest and backing of a board for each institution, composed of members who can know intimately the work of that particular school, is an important factor. Members of a separately appointed board can more easily familiarize themselves with the institution and its inmates and hold more frequent meetings. Such a board can give invaluable service as a sort of "liaison officer," interpreting an institution to the public better than could either a centralized state board or a state commissioner of all institutions.

4. As against the system of one-man control, the different interests and points of view of the members of a board constitute a great asset.

5. To promote complete uniformity among the various state institutions is not to be desired. The task for each school is to meet its own problems and its particular situation.

6. To class training schools for delinquent girls with penal institutions, as is done where there is a state board for all charitable, correctional, and penal institutions, or where there is a separate board for correctional and penal institutions only, is a definite handicap to those schools.

It is impossible to trace any well-defined relationships between the types of control of these girls' training schools and the quality of the work found in them. Among the states where the training schools for girls are administered by a state board or commission for all state institutions are: Rhode Island, Florida, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Texas. Among those that have state boards or departments for correctional or juvenile insti-

tutions only are: Massachusetts, Maine, Michigan, and Missouri. Ohio, Illinois, and the state of Washington have the one-man power system of control; and Connecticut, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, Indiana, Montana, and Colorado administer their training schools under publicly appointed separate boards.

Our Deductions. On this whole question of forms of control, we offer four major conclusions:

1. The system of control is not the determining factor in making a good institution. The vital point is to secure the highest possible grade of people, both as board and as staff members. Some systems, however, may make it easier than others to secure the services of desirable people.

2. No one system can be prescribed dogmatically as the one to be copied by every state. The situation and problems must be considered carefully in each case.

3. Although the trend is toward some centralized system of control, we feel that in many cases there is need of a special board for the particular institution—a body of interested people who will maintain a close personal relationship to the school. Whether these boards should be advisory or administrative may well be decided by the local situation.

4. As a result of her study of 57 schools for girls, the writer believes that the fear frequently voiced of political interference under a centralized system of control for state institutions is partly justified. This does not mean that such interference occurs in all or in a majority of the states having a centralized system. It does mean that in every case where such a condition was found there existed a state board of control, or a system of one-man control.

Affiliation with Educational Departments. Many superintendents are anxious that their schools should not be considered penal institutions. In some, where the penal or correctional aspect is less emphasized, and constructive discipline and educational opportunity are uppermost, superintendents are interested in the possibility of eventually making these schools part of the state educational system. As special classes for conduct cases and those mentally retarded have been organized in public schools, training schools for juvenile delinquents might be considered a further step in the educational program of a state.

In numerous states, where the State Board of Education does not possess administrative powers for the entire institution, it is definitely interested in the school department of the training school, just as the State Board of Health is in the medical service provided. In approximately half the girls' training schools, the course of study used in their academic department is that prescribed by the state for the public schools. In these institutions, an attempt is also made to use the textbooks recommended by the State Department of Education.

In a few of the girls' training schools, there is a mixed form of control, where the superintendent is responsible to the institutional board or to the State Board of Control, while the academic teachers are responsible to the Board of Education, by whom they are employed. In two state, three county, and two municipal institutions, also one private training school, the salaries of from one to three academic teachers are paid by outside boards of education. In the two state institutions, the teachers are employed by state boards of education. In the other six schools, the teachers report to city boards of education. In some of these schools we noted friction because of divided authority. It is doubtful whether there should be two sources of control outside the institution, although it is most desirable to have supervision by the state department of education.

Workers in this field who are interested in the possibility of these training schools for girls becoming an integral part of the state educational system have much more in mind than co-operation and supervision, more even than the administration of the school departments by educational authorities. They are considering the actual administration of the entire institution by the State Department of Education. In all the schools visited by the writer, only one is now administered by a State Board of Education, with the state commissioner of education as executive of the Board.[1] This is the Idaho Industrial School at St. Anthony, where delinquent boys and girls are cared for together. The superintendent of this school believes that an institution of this kind is a "logical part of the educational system of the state." He stated

[1] Since the conclusion of this study the Montrose School for Girls in Maryland has been placed under the control of the State Board of Education.

that the Governor, in appointing the commissioner, considers a man's real fitness for the work. The state commissioner of education in Idaho is the highest salaried man in the employ of the state. At the time of our visit, the position was held by a former college president, an educator who possessed the confidence of the people.

In Utah, the State Industrial School, which also cares for both boys and girls, is managed by a Board of Trustees, whose membership always includes the state superintendent of public instruction.

In Kansas, the State Industrial School for Girls is under the control of the State Board of Administration. This same board is responsible for all the state penal institutions and also for all the educational institutions, including the state university. In Florida the Industrial School for Girls at Ocala is controlled by the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions. The state superintendent of public instruction is always one of the eight members of the Board which is composed of various state officials elected by the people plus a secretary. These commissioners supervise all state institutions.

Two training schools situated in North Dakota and Arizona, each caring for boys and girls, are controlled by state administrative boards whose functions include the management of the educational as well as the penal and charitable institutions of their respective states. At the time of our study in North Dakota the state superintendent of public instruction was a member of its state board.

In Montana, the Executive Board for the Vocational School for Girls at Helena is appointed by the Governor, with the consent of the State Board of Education, which approves the appointment of the superintendent of the school. The Executive Board is responsible to the latter board, which includes the state superintendent of schools.

From the foregoing examples we can see that some steps have been taken toward affiliating these schools with the state educational departments. With the superintendents who have expressed themselves on this matter we believe that the task of training schools for delinquents is fundamentally an educational one, if education be defined in a broad sense to include the study, treatment, readjustment, and motivation of the individual. We do

not think that these training schools should develop their academic and vocational departments at the expense of other interests, or as ends in themselves, but that they should be considered as an integral part of the whole purpose and program of the institution.

Unfortunately not all the superintendents and teachers in our public school system think of education in its broadest sense. Moreover, state departments of education already have an overwhelming task without undertaking the administration of schools for delinquent children, including the specialized technical problems involved. It is questionable whether many educational departments are now equipped to administer these schools wisely. We feel there are dangers in this plan of transferring the control of institutions for delinquents to educational departments, unless trained social workers are added to the staffs of such departments. Nevertheless, we emphatically advocate that the co-operation of state departments of education be sought in planning the work of the training schools and that their supervision of the school department should be definitely required.

County and Municipal Control. We must now consider briefly the types of control for the nine county and municipal and the nine private or semi-private institutions for delinquent girls previously mentioned. Of the seven county training schools for girls, three are administered by publicly appointed boards serving one institution only; in two, control is vested in one commissioner; in two other institutions an existing county public body serves as the administrative board. The two municipal institutions are under the one-man power system of control. Recently there has been considerable discussion in various sections of the country as to the advisability of county and city institutions for juvenile delinquents. In Massachusetts there has been some agitation to close, or change the functions of, the various county schools for delinquents. In a few states, where the state training school for girls wishes to limit its population in order to do more intensive work, and in others where the quality of the work of the state institution is unsatisfactory, the possibility of developing county or municipal training schools is under discussion. In some counties and cities a pride in their local institution and a jealousy between localities encourage the maintaining of a series of small institutions

instead of the proper development of the state training schools. Those who advocate this latter movement argue that with a number of small schools one can expect more individualized work and less institutionalism; also that the children would be nearer their families, who could keep in closer touch with them.

Numerous state departments of public welfare have gone on record as opposing the development of local training schools for delinquents, and we are inclined to agree with them. If a number of such institutions were established in a state, we fear that this would tend to place the emphasis on the wrong end of the program. In each community the development of a program for the prevention of juvenile delinquency should be the first consideration. If, unhappily, children have already developed problems of conduct, the aim should be to care for as many as feasible in the community, where they still could live in their own homes under close supervision or in carefully selected boarding homes.

The presence of nearby training schools would be likely to encourage court officials to commit to them children who might better be cared for in private homes. The erection and proper maintenance of such local institutions, if the work were well done, would involve large expenditures. One of two things might be expected: an unjustifiably high tax rate or a meagerness of appropriation to the institution, making impossible the best type of work. Even if certain counties could afford to build and conduct high-grade institutions, it is doubtful whether they could attract to their staffs competent specialists who are now too few to man properly the state training schools. Therefore, we feel that where institutional care seems necessary, children should be sent to a state school, which should be supported adequately to do the highest quality of work. As a matter of fact, not more than two or three of the present county training schools rank with the better state training schools in the quality of the work done. Some populous cities or counties should maintain special places for the scientific study and observation of children with conduct problems, which should not be classified as training schools and might be under the charge of the public school system or possibly of the juvenile court.

Private and Semi-Private Control. Of the nine private or semi-

private training schools for girls included in our study, eight are controlled by private boards, and in one school at the time of our visit no board was functioning. In six of these schools the board is elected periodically by the members of the corporation or by contributors to the school, and in two the board is self-perpetuating. This applies to the majority of the membership; in several, a minority of the board is appointed by public officials.

Of these nine private schools, five care for colored girls exclusively. The state training schools in the states in which these five private schools are situated do not accept colored girls. Probably the state legislatures will eventually adopt some, if not all, of these schools for colored girls.[1]

Administrative Boards

The size of boards serving girls' training schools varies considerably throughout the United States as indicated below.

Number of Board Members	Number of Schools	
2 or 3	11	
4 or 5	13	
6 or 7	8	
8, 9, or 10	8	
More than 10	8	48
No board	1	
A single commissioner	8	9
Total schools		57

The Delaware Industrial School for Girls at Claymont, whose average population in 1922 was only 75 girls, has a board of managers of 27 women and an advisory board of eight men. Sleighton Farm (the Girls' Department of the Glen Mills Schools) at the time of our visit was administered by a board of 31 men, which served both the Girls' and the Boys' Departments. The Chicago Home for Girls is administered by a board of 40 women with an advisory board of trustees of seven men. The average population of this institution in 1922 was only 66 (52 girls and 14 babies).

[1] The training schools for girls in Pennsylvania (for white and colored) and Delaware (for white) are maintained by state funds, though retaining their private boards.

Among institutional workers, the general consensus of opinion is that a board of five or seven members can best serve the needs of a school. A board should be large enough to be representative, but not so large as to be unwieldy, and it should contain men and women of different points of view and of different callings. In a private institution in which it is desirable to interest a large number of prominent people, there might be in addition to the Board of Managers a visiting committee or a number of honorary vice-presidents who would incur no business responsibilities. Often people are glad to lend their names to a cause who cannot give a great deal of time to it.

Men and Women on Boards. Again, omitting the eight schools under the one-man system, and the institution which has no functioning board, we find that just over half of the remaining schools (25 of 48) are managed by boards whose membership includes both men and women; one-third (16 of 48) have men only. Each of the eight schools under the one-man system is administered by a man, so that in reality 24 out of the 57 girls' schools visited are managed by men. Thus we see that in nearly half of the public training schools for delinquent girls women are not represented on the administrative boards. Included among the schools managed by men at the time of our visit, are Sleighton Farm, Pennsylvania;[1] Industrial Home for Colored Girls, Melvale, Maryland; Jackson County Parental Home for Girls, Independence, Missouri; and the State Industrial School for Girls, Salem, Oregon. Only seven out of 48 have boards composed exclusively of women, and five of these seven institutions are private or semi-private. Among these are the Delaware Industrial School for Girls, Claymont; Brooklyn Training School and Home for Young Girls, New York; and the Chicago Home for Girls.

Included in the schools which are served by boards composed of both men and women are those at Lancaster, Massachusetts (seven men, two women); Hallowell, Maine (four men, two women); Montrose School for Girls, Woodensburg, Maryland (seven men, eight women); Industrial, West Virginia (three men, three women).

It is surprising that in an age when men and women are so

[1] Women have since been appointed on the board which governs Sleighton Farm.

closely associated in educational and social movements there should be any appreciable number of training schools for delinquent girls whose boards of management do not include any women. While we do not urge that boards be composed entirely of women, some should serve on each board. Men and women bring to the work somewhat different points of view; both are needed.

Boards for Colored Schools. At the time of our visit one training school for colored girls had no functioning board. Of the remaining eight schools, in three the managing board consisted exclusively of white people; in three, of colored people only; and in two, of both colored and white. Since the problem of adequate facilities for colored girls affects the white population as well as the colored, the two races should here work together. The experience of the two girls' schools whose boards are composed of both white and colored citizens, and of numerous types of other institutions where both races are represented on boards, has demonstrated that they can work together satisfactorily in all parts of the country, including the South. Since most of the schools for colored girls are new and colored people have not had a great deal of administrative experience in such undertakings, white people should render all assistance possible.

Terms of Board Members. In most of the public institutions, members of boards serve for definite terms, although in a few they remain in office "at the will of the governor." A majority of boards in the private or semi-private institutions are elected for definite terms, but in two, members serve for indefinite periods. In these two instances the boards are self-perpetuating. The length of term where the appointments are for definite periods varies, but for many boards it is six years, with the terms of members expiring at different times, so that no one governor or no one administration has too much political power in being able to appoint a majority of the members of the board. The terms should not be too brief, because as members learn more of the problems of the institution they can render greater service.

On the other hand it is undesirable, as a general rule, to keep the same people indefinitely on the board of a public institution, because others should have this opportunity to become intimately associated with the work and because the institution itself will

benefit from the new points of view brought to bear on its problems by new board members. Terms varying from four to seven years are working out satisfactorily for the girls' schools, and we strongly favor dividing the members of boards into classes so that the term of office of each class will end in different years and the whole membership may not all be retired at once. Members may or may not be eligible for re-election.

Board Meetings. The majority of the publicly appointed boards serving one institution only, and most of the private boards meet once a month at the institution. Where there is a centralized system the State Board of Control meets as frequently as necessary in its offices (generally at the capitol); in many instances the whole board does not make formal visits to the institution more than two or three times a year. Individual members, whether of a centralized system or of a single board, visit the training school and confer with the superintendent more frequently. If a board is to keep closely in touch with a situation and to be of help to the superintendent in solving her problems, meetings are needed once in thirty days, and they should ordinarily be held at the institution, where members may come in close contact with its actual work.

Duties of Boards. In the early history of training schools for girls, as well as of other types of institutions, the boards of managers retained for themselves many powers and responsibilities now delegated to the executive heads or superintendents. Formerly they handled many details of administration, either acting as a unit or through various committees. In many instances they appointed the entire staff, made most of the purchases, and mapped out the program in detail. Schools for girls still remain where the boards of management and even the governors of the state desire to keep their fingers on every detail. In one southern institution the superintendent stated that she wired the governor for permission before she went on a short shopping trip, and that she even consulted him about trimming the trees on the grounds. In a certain private institution, which serves as a state training school, board members purchase all supplies amounting to more than $50. In two schools members of the board of managers talk with each new girl and try to secure from her "her story." In one institution the monthly board meeting is held at the school, but the

superintendent is not permitted to be present. In several institutions that have new buildings, the ideas of the superintendents have been given little consideration. Board members and state architects have planned buildings without regard to the experience and wishes of the people who must work in them.

In most of the progressive training schools today the boards try to select superintendents capable of handling details and then hold them responsible for carrying out the work. The boards aim to interpret the work of the training school to the public, to keep closely enough in touch with the situation so that they know what is happening and that all is well, to support the superintendent in her efforts to pass on important matters presented by her, and to help in mapping out policies. Boards usually decide upon the structure and cost of buildings, authorize other large expenditures, and determine general policies and important innovations. The action regarding the classes of children admitted (in so far as these are not prescribed by law), the prevocational training to be provided, the system of parole, and the nature and extent of community contacts for the children are some of the questions which many superintendents take up with their boards. Boards are usually consulted if student government is to be instituted for the first time, if some of the girls are to be placed on the payroll or some sent to an outside public high school. At their meetings they often approve bills for the preceding month.

State boards of control occasionally employ state purchasing agents. Most superintendents feel that this centralized buying has not brought financial saving to the state. Inferior goods are sometimes bought and inappropriate purchases made which cannot be used to advantage. Superintendents believe that they, because of their intimate knowledge of needs, although buying on a smaller scale, could make more satisfactory purchases.

Generally boards have complete authority to appoint superintendents, except where the governor or other high authority approves the appointment, where he appoints her himself, or where she receives her position through competitive civil service examinations.

In five only of the 57 girls' training schools does the board employ and discharge all institutional workers. In 24, superinten-

dents have full powers to employ and discharge their workers. In the remainder the superintendents employ and discharge, subject to civil service or approval of the board; or there is a combined system whereby the board selects a number of the workers and the superintendent some. In several instances a civil service system operates for part of the staff only.[1] In 10 of the 57 schools some form of civil service is in operation. These include eight state institutions, one county, and one municipal training school.

Of the two other systems for securing workers we favor the superintendent's selecting her own staff rather than the assumption of this duty by the board. If the superintendent is a specialist she should have the privilege of finding her own assistants and then be held responsible for their work. In many instances she is in a better position to find people trained for specific pieces of work than are the members of the board. It is not reasonable to hold the superintendent responsible for the work carried on in the institution if she cannot control the selection and retention of the people who are to do it.

In over half of the schools visited (30 of 57) the administrative board passes on each case of parole and discharge. In only one-sixth (10 of 57) does the superintendent alone decide them. In these instances, however, the board may have outlined very definite policies which govern the superintendent in her actions. In the remaining third (17 of 57) various systems are in force. In some instances the committing court passes on each case; in others parole is issued by the state pardon and parole board upon recommendation of the superintendent, or in some there is no well-worked-out system as yet. It is a debated question whether it is better for the board, together with the superintendent, to map out policies and then to leave the superintendent free to decide each case of parole and discharge, or whether it is wiser for the board to pass on each individual case.

The Committee System. As has already been indicated, some boards function through committees. This is especially true of private institutions with large boards. No doubt, more examples of the committee system would be found among a group of private

[1] The whole question of civil service will be discussed at length in Chapter III, The Staff, p. 64.

institutions for dependents than among the public training schools. Two-thirds of these institutions for delinquent girls (40 of 57) had no standing committees at the time of our visit. Only nine of the 57 had more than three standing committees. The committees most often found in these schools are an executive committee, a parole committee, and a farm committee. Some superintendents feel that an executive committee composed of citizens living near the institution, who can transact urgent business without waiting for a meeting of the entire board, is a convenience and increases efficiency.

In many institutions special committees are appointed from time to time which pass out of existence when their work is completed. For example, when a new building is to be erected, a special building committee is often named. A few of the girls' training schools, however, have a large number of committees. In Rhode Island the board of the Oaklawn School has nine. In Delaware the board of the Industrial School for Girls has 10; the Brooklyn Training School and Home for Young Girls operates with 15 standing committees; and the Chicago Home for Girls operates with 21. It is urged by some that the committee system is desirable in order to divide responsibility and as a means of best utilizing the varying interests and experiences of members. If a board is small, however, we see no reason why the entire board cannot function as a unit, although certain members may give more time to some phases of the work than to others. We believe that the plan of having a large number of committees is unwieldy and does not work to the advantage of the institution.

The Task of Being a Board Member. We agree with Miss Anna M. Petersen that it is vital to secure the appointment on a board of managers of a group of men and women who "have a genuine interest in human beings, who believe in reformative work and who are willing to give the necessary time to the study of the work, so that they can give wise counsel, hearty support and intelligent co-operation to the superintendent whom they have placed at the helm."[1] This group should work in harmony and as a unit. As

[1] "The Administrative Problems of a Woman's Reformatory." In Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, Chicago, Vol. 13, Nov., 1922, p. 440.

has already been pointed out, members of an administrative board should be familiar with the work of the institution in order to render every possible service to the staff and to give to the public a correct interpretation of the purpose and methods. While the board should have a thorough knowledge of the routine of the school, it should not interfere with details.

The board should be extremely careful to avoid any appearance of "spying" on the superintendent or her workers, nor should it invite the criticism of the pupils and officers against the superintendent or her policy. If the board is in sufficiently close touch with the daily life of the school, it ought never to be necessary to make anything resembling an "investigation." If the board cannot whole-heartedly back up the superintendent, a new executive officer should be secured. Many institutions are blessed with boards which have a real understanding of the work, yet do not wish to usurp the prerogatives of executive officers. Members of such boards have found it valuable to visit other institutions with similar functions and to attend national and state conferences of social work. They bring back with them a greater understanding of many problems and an increased desire to help solve them. The task of being a board member is not always an easy one. He who serves the state well in such a capacity is rendering a genuine service which his fellow-citizens should appreciate.

CHAPTER III

THE STAFF

AFTER the functions of an institution have been determined, the types of cases defined, a general plan drawn up as to the services to be rendered the children in care, and a managing board appointed, the next logical step is to secure an executive officer or superintendent. As already stated, it is very important to select the superintendent of a new training school before detailed plans are made either for work or for buildings.

As soon as the time for opening the school approaches the superintendent should give careful attention to the selection of subordinate staff members. The importance of securing the best trained, most efficient workers for a girls' training school can scarcely be overestimated. It is a truism that the quality and adequacy of a staff largely determine the quality and effectiveness of the work. As we shall show in the following chapters, unselfish workers, who possess understanding of the special problems involved and rare ability in adjusting delinquent girls, are securing commendable results even though handicapped by unsuitable buildings, meager equipment, and inadequate financial support. Almost in direct ratio to the quality and adequacy of the staff one finds the quality of the study, treatment, re-education, and rehabilitation of the individual girl.

In no part of the work, perhaps, do superintendents find themselves more handicapped than in obtaining and retaining the right kind of assistants for the task of redirecting and remotivating these girls with whom the community has failed. Many schools pay too low salaries, especially for subordinate positions, to attract trained workers; sometimes, for lack of money, and sometimes because of failure on the part of the managing board or the legislature to appreciate the necessity for higher salaries. To many trained women, work with delinquent girls is not at first attractive.

Often the situation of the school, far from a railroad or a community of any size, makes it difficult to secure or keep workers.

Many capable women have entered these schools as a vocation and have done splendid work regardless of inadequate salary or even hardship, but such trying and exacting work should be given proper compensation. The workers should be enabled to live in comfort and to have sufficient change and recreation to keep them fresh and vigorous.

Selection

In some schools the superintendent has limited powers of selection, subject to the approval of persons who may not have her vision and standard, or she may labor under a non-elastic civil service system which permits her little choice in the selection of specialists for this technical piece of work. In some instances the superintendent is expected to secure all her workers from the state in which the training school is situated or at least from the same section. In these particular localities there may be a dearth of trained, skilled workers and no training center for any type of social work. It is difficult to appreciate the strong feeling that persists in some parts of the country against the importation of "outsiders," until one visits these sections.

At a round table in a conference attended by many superintendents of training schools, each one was asked to state her most difficult problem. Almost everyone emphasized inability to secure and retain an adequate staff of high-grade, trained workers. In the preceding chapter we have noted that in 24 of the 57 schools for girls visited the superintendents have full powers to employ and discharge their own workers; while in the additional schools they perform these functions with the approval of their boards; and that appointments in 10[1] of the 57 schools are under some form of civil service rules—eight of these 10 being state institutions, one a county institution, and one a municipal training school.

The organization of civil service commissions and the manner in which they function in relation to the schools vary in different states. In the majority of cases the plan is somewhat as follows: When there is a vacancy on the staff, the superintendent at once

[1] In one state institution only a part of the staff is under a civil service system, the remainder receiving appointment directly from the superintendent.

notifies the commission, which is composed of three or more members. This commission then furnishes to the superintendent the names of three or four persons on the eligible list, in order of their ratings in the civil service examination, which in some cases has been determined by no more than their ability to answer questions on an application blank, but occasionally the questions are so detailed that the commission can form an idea as to the special qualifications of a candidate for the particular position.[1] The general plan is to have the superintendent notify the person highest on the list supplied her by the commission. If this person cannot accept the position, she notifies the second on the list, and so on. In some states, when the list is exhausted, she has to wait for more names to be furnished by the commission; in others she can make provisional appointments. As a rule, she can discharge a worker for cause, but this person can later state her case to the civil service commission, which may overrule the superintendent.

After a careful study of each of the schools under civil service, 10 in number, the writer was unable to find one where she felt that the system as now in operation, is of any considerable assistance or value. In public institutions other than those for delinquents, and in agencies with large staffs performing routine tasks, the system might be of service. In some girls' schools, although civil service rules were supposed to be in operation, they were practically inoperative. In three the commission has been unable to keep the school supplied with workers; so the superintendents find their own people and then arrange to have them take the examination. In one school workers selected by the superintendent may be certified by experience, and need not take any civil service examination. In six of the 10 schools under the system we agree with the superintendents that while the service is of no great assistance, it does not greatly handicap them in their work. In four we were compelled to conclude that as in operation at the time of our visit, it was an actual handicap to the schools.

Not one of the superintendents of these 10 schools declared herself favorable to a civil service system for girls' training schools,

[1] In one training school where relationships are especially friendly between the superintendent and the civil service commission, the former has made out rigid requirements for each type of position, and she herself recommends appointments.

and one or two definitely said that they would prefer not to have one in operation. The reasons given by those who do not believe it beneficial may be summarized as follows:

1. In actual practice, the system has not done away entirely with political patronage, although this was the basis on which it was founded.

2. Standardization of positions is not desirable, though that is a basic element in most civil service systems. The difficult, technical task of re-educating delinquent girls requires workers with special ability and qualifications which are not easily standardized.

3. Commissioners are not often specialists on problems of employment and personnel.

4. Even where the commissioners understand many of the problems of employment, they do not usually know anything of the details of the work in a training school for delinquents.

5. No written examination in answer to stereotyped questions can show a person's fitness for this highly technical and specialized work. Mental attitude and personality are very important factors.

6. While a civil service system might be satisfactory for certain types of workers in the institution (farm laborers, clerical help, and so forth), it cannot be made so for executives and those who carry the tasks of studying, treating, and molding the girls in care.

7. Many commissioners have confined themselves largely to the negative aim of discouraging the spoils system rather than to the positive side of the problem, that of securing competent personnel.

The adherents of a civil service system feel that even with some defects it is better than the old system of haphazard or political appointments without tenure of office, and this may be true in public institutions where a large number of workers are employed on routine tasks. For girls' training schools, however, the writer from her observation believes that a higher grade of employe can be secured through permitting the superintendent, alone or with the approval of her administrative board, to employ and discharge her own workers. This opinion, of course, is based on civil service systems as we found them in operation in these 10 training schools. If every civil service commissioner could be an expert in problems of personnel and understand the special tasks and difficulties of a girls' training school, and if a system of selecting these workers could be evolved which would give adequate attention to many vital factors, such as personality, ability to lead girls, attitude

toward the problem, and so forth, in addition to the type of questions now asked of the candidates, our conclusions might be altered.

Adequacy

An adequate number of employes is a need only second in importance to their quality. There will be definite limits to what highly trained employes can accomplish if their number is too small. In dealing with unadjusted girls individual contact is of fundamental importance. This can be provided satisfactorily only where the staff approaches adequacy. If girls are handled *en masse*, we must expect few permanent adjustments.

Some have argued that a large staff creates a prohibitive per capita cost. It is difficult to decide just what are the proper limitations to the employment of specialists on the staff of a training school. We should bear in mind, however, that the other expenditures necessary for the maintenance of an institution are vain if the quality and adequacy of the staff do not insure high-grade individualized work for each girl. Unless such service is provided the girls would probably be just as well off outside the institution, except, perhaps, those who may not benefit by training and yet must be given custodial care.

The situation regarding the number of children per employe is as follows:

Number of Girls per Employe	Number of Schools[a]
Not more than three	4
More than three, not more than four	10
" " four, " " " five	14
" " five, " " " six	11
" " six, " " " seven	6
" " seven, " " " ten	12
Total schools	57

[a] Figures for individual schools are given in the Appendix tables.

The employes used as a basis for this statement were all workers given on the sample payroll furnished us, except those who did not receive a regular weekly or monthly salary. Outside specialists who were paid by the visit, or for work done, were not included. Most of the schools employ some men as farm laborers, mechanics,

firemen, and so forth, who have little or nothing to do with the training program of the girls. If we included as a basis of this statement only those members of the staff who work directly with the girls, the number of children per employe would be somewhat larger than is shown above.

It is to be noted from this table that approximately one-fourth of these 57 schools have more than four, not more than five girls per employe; while approximately one-fifth have more than seven and not more than 10 girls per employe. Included in this last group are many new schools with severely limited staffs. Nearly two-thirds of these schools fall in the three groups having more than three and not more than six girls per worker. The average number of girls per worker for all institutions is 5.5.

The four institutions having the smallest number of girls per worker (three or less than three) are the Vocational School for Girls, Helena, Montana; California School for Girls at Ventura; Girls' Training School, Gainesville, Texas; and the Florida Industrial Home for Colored Girls at Ocala. The first three are state institutions, while the Florida school is a small private undertaking. One of these institutions which had been opened recently but was still unfinished, had for the period which our statistics cover only 1.1 girls per worker. Another large state training school had only 2.2 girls per worker.

Included in the group that has very nearly the average number of children per worker (5.5) are the Delaware Industrial School for Girls at Claymont; Georgia Training School for Girls at Atlanta; State Industrial School for Girls, Beloit, Kansas; Indiana Girls' School at Clermont; Colorado State Industrial School for Girls at Mount Morrison; and the Oregon State Industrial School for Girls at Salem.

Included in the group that has more than seven girls per worker are the Industrial Home for Colored Girls, Melvale, Maryland; the State Training School for Girls, Birmingham, Alabama; Fairwold Industrial School for Colored Girls, Columbia, South Carolina; Florida Industrial School for Girls at Ocala; Tennessee Vocational School for Girls at Tullahoma; State Industrial School for Girls, Tecumseh, Oklahoma; and the Girls' Industrial School, Geneva, Nebraska. Seven schools have nine or 10 girls per employe. No

girls' training school in the United States has more than 10 children per employe.

It is well known to workers in this field that a small institution requires a larger staff proportionally in order to do high-grade work. One psychologist, one doctor, and one nurse may each be able to care for a larger group than is found in a small school, but their presence on the staff is deemed a necessity. No school should be criticized for being overstaffed until a study is made of the character and quality of the work being done. It is safe to say, however, that for some time it will probably be impracticable in most schools to provide more than one worker to every four or five girls. If there are more than six children per worker, the school is probably understaffed.

Tenure of Office of Workers

The length of the service of workers in a training school for girls admits of differences of opinion. Almost every superintendent will agree that some continuity is essential. On the other hand, it is just as important to bring in some new blood to prevent a staff from getting into a rut. Many favor gradual changes of the majority of the workers but agree that too great a turnover is to be avoided. The exact ratio between the number of new and old workers cannot be arbitrarily fixed but must be determined for each institution by those in charge.

The present situation may be summarized as follows:

Tenure of Office of Workers	Number of Schools
More than half of workers on staff less than one year	18
More than half of workers on staff more than one year, not more than five years	12
More than half of workers on staff more than five years	3
Some but not more than 10 per cent of workers employed more than ten years	12
More than 10 per cent, not more than 25 per cent, employed more than ten years	9
More than 25 per cent, not more than 50 per cent, employed more than 10 years	3

From these figures it is observable that in approximately one-third of the schools more than half the workers have been employed in their particular institutions for less than one year; while in only three of the 57 have more than half the workers been employed in their particular institutions for longer than five years. In a large number of the schools there can certainly be no criticism on the ground of too long a tenure of office for the majority of the workers; while in some schools there is too great a staff turnover.

It is to be noted that 24 of the 57 schools have some workers who have been employed in the same institution for more than ten years. Usually, however, the proportion of employes retained for longer than ten years in one school is very small. Half of the group having ten-year employes come under the classification, "some but not more than 10 per cent of workers employed more than ten years."

In one far western training school for girls, three-fourths of the employes (53 of 71) had been on the staff less than one year; while only four had been employed for more than five years. The superintendent said that the great turnover of workers was one of her most serious problems, the chief reason for which she believes to be inadequate salaries together with the history of this school, which has had many distressing disturbances.

In a small southwestern institution, nearly three-fourths of the workers had been on the staff less than one year and the remainder for less than three years. The superintendent gave a sweeping and unusual opinion on the subject: "Subordinate workers should not remain in an institution for more than two years consecutively, because after that they feel that they own the school."

In a middle western institution both the superintendent and her assistant had served continuously for twenty-three years. In a certain municipal school, a new superintendent who had been in charge only one year stated that in the past there had been numerous "ex-inmates" on the payroll. Gradually all but two had been eliminated. One, now practically helpless, had lived in the institution continuously for thirty-eight years. She came as an inmate and was later an employe. The other, now elderly and very deaf, had formerly been superintendent.

These illustrations show some of the extremes. The majority

of the superintendents feel that a wise policy lies somewhere between; it is certainly not desirable to have an almost complete turnover every few years. Long-time constructive programs, if methods are to be tested properly and results secured, require a staff, some of whose members remain for a period of years.

However, in work for people with physical, mental, or moral abnormalities, it is especially important that workers do not remain too long so as to become warped in their views toward the problems presented. To train girls or boys to lead normal lives in an outside community, they should come in contact with men and women who themselves have not been too long separated from community living. Each new staff worker generally brings some different ideas. The addition of an individual or a group of young people furnishes fresh interest and enthusiasm to older workers. While it is certainly undesirable for the majority of a staff to be recruited anew every two or three years, we believe that the staff of a training school for girls should not contain a large percentage employed continuously in that school for more than ten years.

Chief Requirements

In selecting a staff for a girls' training school, there are certain requirements which should be borne in mind. The order in which these are here discussed should not be interpreted as showing necessarily their relative importance. Needed qualifications differ according to the nature of the particular position, but certain fundamental qualities seem to apply in the case of all staff members who work directly with the girls.

Certain personal qualities are exceedingly important, if character formation in these disadvantaged and unadjusted girls is our ultimate goal. The workers must have high ideals and strength of character themselves if they are to be examples to others. The most important things in life are learned unconsciously from those with whom we come in daily contact more than from formal instruction. Each staff member who works directly with the girls should have a vision of what re-education really means, and should not only understand her own part in the program, but should have some conception of the task as a whole. She should see ultimate goals to strive for, as well as immediate ends to be reached.

The staff should be open-minded, not bound by prejudices nor opposed to methods or policies before they have been studied or tried. The worker can always be learning something new, regardless of her length of experience. A school, however, should be slow to sweep away all its traditions and practices in favor of new theories and untried policies. Balance and judgment, as well as open-mindedness, are needed to remold the lives of these children. No work requires greater common sense, or deeper insight.

Workers should be resourceful, able to decide minor questions for themselves, and to find means of bringing about desired ends. Oftentimes, because of the financial situation, they must almost "make bricks without straw" and accomplish a great deal with very little. For example, if recreational or educational equipment is not available, an ingenious person will find many things at hand that can be substituted. If regular means of arousing and retaining the girls' interest seem to be exhausted, and both workers and girls have frayed nerves, a resourceful officer must come to the rescue. If a situation cannot be treated in the customary way, she will discover some new mode of attack.

If a superintendent is to be successful in developing a high-grade piece of work in a school where she has to delegate to others many of the details as well as a large part of the actual contact with the girls, she must have a staff that is conscientious and dependable. A well-organized institution with the right kind of workers should run smoothly when the superintendent is temporarily absent. There must be loyalty to the administration. A worker should not remain on the payroll of a training school where she cannot whole-heartedly support the executive officer. If she feels that conditions are such as to make it her duty to report them to higher officials, she should first resign and then go directly to the board or its president (not to the public).

As in other types of organized work, executive and supervisory officers should not have favorites among the staff. A superintendent should not pick one matron, for example, as her personal friend with whom to spend all of her free time. Workers should feel that they will be judged on their merits, not because of any personal relationships to those above them and that their superiors will be fair and just under all circumstances. Cottage officers or

teachers should not pick out particular girls to whom they pay attention. While each girl must be considered as an individual, and some require closer study and more intensive treatment than others, this should be done in such a way that the rest of the group will not consider these girls as "favorites." No question should arise as to the fairness and justice of the workers in the minds of the girls.

One quality often not sufficiently emphasized is a sense of humor. Many baffling and difficult situations are presented daily in this work, and if a worker is to retain her proper balance and not become discouraged or callous, she must have a sense of proportion which in most cases implies the presence of a sense of humor.

A pleasing personality is a valuable asset in members of the staff who come in contact with the girls and who represent the institution to the public, while a negative one is a very real handicap even though the person may have other qualities for success. It is very important that the members of the staff who work most closely with the girls have that type of personality which invites confidence and makes an approach easy.

The worker should retain a youthful point of view. Sometimes a very young woman has this less than an older woman. The essential thing is to look at problems with the buoyancy of youth and to have that fresh interest and enthusiasm which is more generally found in that age.

Finally, there is one other personal quality which is of great importance in this work, but which we probably cannot expect in more than a limited number of workers, namely, leadership. Every staff, however, should have some members with ability to carry people with them without seeming to use coercion. The power of leadership is quickly recognized by children, and an officer who is so endowed will find her task much easier. It is, to some degree, a natural endowment and not readily acquired. Certain key positions, however, should be filled by people who have this power. They will be able to lead both fellow-workers and the pupils far beyond the point to which these could be driven.

Scientific Point of View

All the members of the staff who work directly with the girls should hold a scientific point of view toward the problem of delin-

quency; that is, they should try to find the causative factors of any antisocial act rather than to dwell upon the act itself. The amount of knowledge of the subject possessed by workers will vary with their positions and the type of work in which they are engaged; but all should keep abreast of the latest ideas in the field. This may be done in various ways—through reading periodicals and books, through attending lectures and conferences, and, if possible, by taking occasional courses during vacations, or even by stopping work for a short period for the purpose of further study.

The preservation of an objective attitude is highly important. Dr. Bernard Glueck, formerly director of the Bureau of Children's Guidance of New York,[1] makes a clear and able statement of this general principle:

> Ordinarily we are apt to be more rational in our relations with our fellows, the more successful we are in maintaining an attitude of objectivity. By this attitude we simply mean the ability to see things as they actually are and to deal with them on that basis. The opposite of this is the tendency to color and distort events and things in accordance with the particular personal bias we may be entertaining at the time, by projecting onto them our personal feelings. . . . Prejudice and bias have their most common source in incomplete information and the best assurance against these pitfalls is an ability to see things as they actually are.[2]

In explaining the equipment upon which certain specialists depend, this authority says that the outstanding element necessary for an understanding of a child is "just an honest intent and desire to do so, coupled with a thoroughly open-minded and unbiased attitude towards each problem that presents itself—nothing more complex or mysterious than just this."[3] In other words, he encourages the maintenance of a scientific point of view on every problem that arises. Each worker who comes in contact with these girls should try to contribute something out of her experience and her intensive study of them to their proper treatment. Cottage mothers, academic teachers, vocational instructors, physicians,

[1] The clinic maintained by the New York School of Social Work in connection with its administration of a Division of the Commonwealth Fund Program for the Prevention of Delinquency.

[2] Some Extra-Curricular Problems of the Classroom. Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, New York, Publication No. 3, 1924, pp. 6–7.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 11, 12.

psychologists, nurses, recreation directors—all have opportunities to observe a girl under different circumstances and conditions. Each therefore should be able to help in the task of diagnosis and prognosis, provided a scientific point of view is kept throughout.

Another specialist on the subject, Dr. William Healy, who has made many vital contributions to clear thinking in the field of juvenile delinquency, gives as some of the factors most essential for the student of delinquency to know:

> . . . the individual's habits of mind and body, the forces which drive him, his motivating experiences, his reactions to his environment, his ideation as related to delinquency, causations in the environment itself, his special resources of mind and body that can be utilized for reeducative treatment. . . .[1]

While the carrying out of this study and treatment is under the direction of specialists—psychiatrists, psychologists, physicians, and social workers—nevertheless each member of the staff should endeavor to help to secure this understanding of the girls in their care. The fact that a large number of the girls in these training schools have had sex experience before they entered the institution increases the need for an open-minded approach to and an intensive study of normal and abnormal sex expression; also for a careful interpretation to the girls themselves. No task confronting the staff requires greater skill than that of inculcating in the minds of the girls the proper attitude toward sex.

Academic Education

While the actual amount of academic equipment required generally varies with different positions, all workers with the girls should have had sufficient education to enable them to participate intelligently in the type of individualized studies, already suggested, and to do their own special task efficiently. We feel that in the past in many schools educational equipment has been too low, and that this is still true in some institutions. Ideally every worker should have arrived at a certain point in the training of her mental processes before she undertakes this kind of work. The road over which she has traveled does not matter very much. Informal

[1] The Practical Value of Scientific Study of Juvenile Delinquents. U. S. Children's Bureau, Publication No. 96, Washington, 1922, p. 11.

education has some advantages over formal education, but the latter may quicken her progress. If a person is to gain her mental training entirely through reading, travel, contacts with leaders, and so forth, rather than in classrooms, the period of time consumed must be longer. Superintendents of these schools, the principals and teachers of the academic departments, and the parole officers or social case workers should have had college or normal school training or the equivalent. While we cannot insist on this amount of training for all matrons, housekeepers, and relief officers, they should have had a high school education or its equivalent. We should, however, insist that they, with all other workers, speak good English, have good manners and possess such character as will inspire the girls to clean thinking and good living, because the girls will get their English, their manners, and their ideals from those with whom they come in daily personal contact.

We give below the type of education of 52[1] superintendents, a large number of whom select their own workers. The standards of educational qualifications for their staff are affected somewhat by the superintendent's own background.

Educational Qualification of Superintendent	Number of Schools
College graduate	7
Some college work	13
Trained in normal school	15
High school graduate or equivalent	14
Some high school work only	2
Grade school only	1

It is noted that two-thirds (35 of 52) of the superintendents have been trained in colleges or normal schools. Some of the others who have not had the advantages of an advanced formal education have had experience which partly makes up for it. This subject will be discussed later under the headings of "Special Training" and "Previous Experience." Fourteen of the 52 superintendents are high school graduates (or the equivalent), while only three are

[1] During the period of our study, one superintendent had been in charge successively of three schools; one school had no superintendent at the time of our visit, and for two the information in regard to the type of education of the superintendents was not obtained.

known to have had a grade school education only, or some high school work.

Next to the superintendent the best educated person on the staff (with the exception of a few professionally trained workers, such as physicians) is likely to be the principal of the academic school. The educational background of 43 principals, or head teachers, in these schools may be shown as follows:

Educational Qualifications of Principal	Number of Schools
College graduate	9
Some college work	12
Trained in normal school	16
High school graduate	4
Some high school work only	2
Grade school only	..

While only one-fifth (9 of 43) of the principals are college graduates, nearly one-half of the group (21 of 43), have had some college or university training. An additional third (16 of 43) have attended normal school (not necessarily graduates). This means that more than three-fourths (37 of 43) of the principals and head teachers have had some training in a college or a normal school.

A few superintendents said that they were "afraid" of the non-elastic methods which are taught in some normal schools. One superintendent, herself a normal school graduate, stated:

> I prefer young college-trained women as teachers of our older girls. I find them more adaptable than the normal-school trained women. Our course of study is an adaptation of that of the public school, and a woman who is not trained to follow public school methods adapts herself more readily to our schedule.

Others emphasized the need for teachers superior to the average public school instructor. According to Mrs. Fannie French Morse,

> No group calls for more highly educated, more generally informed teachers in its academic work than these disadvantaged girls. The average public school teacher cannot meet the requirements. A peculiar task is that of the academic education of the delinquent girl within the institution. . . . Hers must be an education through absorption; receiving in a predigested form that which her instructors have acquired by

years of study, observation, and, if possible, travel. These are cultural values superior to those of the average public school grade teacher.

In one school for girls (Sleighton Farm), where we secured very detailed data for 65 workers (including men employed as farmers and mechanics), the academic education of the group was as follows:

Degree of Education	Number of Employes
College or university	28
Normal school	14
High school or equivalent private school	17
Grade school	4
Special	2[a]
Total employes	65

[a] Some special courses beyond high school in music and art.

Two-thirds (42 of 65) of these workers at Sleighton Farm had attended normal school, college, or university. This proportion is considerably above the average found in these institutions.

One-fourth of the superintendents of the 57 training schools for girls said they wished women of "higher education" for their staffs as a whole. The heads of the state schools in North Carolina, Texas, Arkansas, Pennsylvania, the Girls' Farm of Cleveland, and the Harris County School for Girls (Texas) are among those taking this position. In the Arkansas Training School for Girls every woman on the staff, with the exception of the nurse, at the time of our visit, was a college graduate. This is a small, new school, still in a pioneer stage, where the salaries are above the average.

As already indicated, in many training schools too little importance is still being put on educational requirements. One superintendent said she did "not stress academic training, except with school teachers." It would not seem to be emphasized there, since two of the three academic teachers in that institution at the time of our visit were not even high school graduates. Another superintendent gave as her only basis of selection of workers: "Women who will treat the children kindly; yet get the work out of them." One said that her chief concern was to secure "practical women." With two exceptions, all workers in this institution had had no more than a grade-school education. In a very few instances

the best educated subordinate on a staff was the clerk in the office.

Special Training

There are certain types of work, such as dentistry, medical service, psychological or psychiatric work which all superintendents wish to have done by highly trained members of these professions.

The prevocational and vocational teachers constitute the second group where special training is most generally desired by the heads of these schools. Formerly, most of the industrial teachers were "practical" women, who had learned to sew, cook, or weave in their own homes. The practice of employing this type still prevails in numerous instances. Although in these institutions for girls emphasis is not placed on trade training, the need of technically trained specialists for whatever prevocational training is provided is being increasingly recognized by the better schools. In a number of schools domestic science graduates in the cottage kitchens teach and direct the girls who "learn by doing." In some schools domestic science school graduates give special courses in connection with the academic curriculum. A few of the larger and better schools have trained instructors in sewing, dressmaking, millinery, handicrafts, business courses, and so forth. Not only are these instructors trained in their special type of work, but they are students of educational methods. In small institutions it is often necessary to combine several functions in the same position. Miss Agnes MacNaughton, superintendent of Samarcand Manor, North Carolina, has secured young college women who act as cottage mothers and also teach classes in millinery, domestic science, and so forth. She tries to fill each of these positions with a young woman who is a specialist in some particular line and will also make a good cottage mother.

Training in social work is not considered by most of these superintendents an important qualification. Very few of the workers in these 57 schools have had social service training. Very few of the superintendents themselves have had special courses in case work or experience in it outside of an institution. The superintendents of the state schools for girls in Connecticut and Michigan, each of whom formerly held important positions in case work agencies, believe that workers with case work training and experience have

a very important contribution to make to schools for delinquents. A number of superintendents feel the need of this type of preparation in the case of parole agents. In our opinion, better results would be obtained if more workers in these institutions had had social case work training and experience before they joined the institution's staff. The social case worker's point of view, her ability to analyze social conditions and factors, and her technique of treatment would all constitute valuable assets to the institutional worker with delinquent girls. This subject is discussed more at length later.[1]

While it is the general consensus of opinion that the workers in institutions for delinquents need training, opinions differ as to the form it should take and where it could best be given. Some believe that special courses should be provided in normal schools and colleges, with field work in institutions during vacation periods. Others think that schools of social work should somewhat enlarge their curricula to include more specialized training for institutional work with delinquents. Still others favor special courses to be given in a good institution accessible to visiting specialists and to a college or university with which some form of affiliation might be worked out. Before any of these questions can be settled, it is, of course, essential to know the exact type of training required and how it would differ from that for other kinds of social service—now given elsewhere.

We have found in the course of our study that most superintendents prefer to instruct a worker in regard to detailed institutional procedure after she has been appointed to the staff. A number of them do not wish institutional procedure for the country as a whole to conform rigidly in character. They think that details of cottage routine, organization of departments, and duties of certain positions are some of the questions that should be settled according to the needs of the particular institution. It would seem to the writer that the largest problem is to provide each worker in an institution for delinquents with the necessary background for participating in a scientific program of individualized study and treatment for each child. This kind of training could well be given all social workers in a school for social work and need not be con-

[1] See Chapter XIV, Social Case Work, p. 259.

fined to those who are to work exclusively with juvenile delinquents outside of institutions or who are to become members of staffs of juvenile training schools. If salaries can be materially increased it might be possible to attract people of the calibre interested in such a course to take some of the subordinate positions.

Previous Experience

Many superintendents consider that teaching experience offers the best training for an institutional worker with these girls. In fact many executives, as well as subordinate officers, formerly taught school. Teachers in public schools, without question, meet some of the problems which confront workers in institutions for delinquents. The need of previous public school teaching experience is especially felt for the academic teachers, though we found that teaching certificates were not generally required.

It is interesting to note that only six superintendents mentioned previous institutional experience as an important factor in the selection of their staffs; five additional superintendents said that it was "not stressed." Many objected to the migratory workers sometimes referred to as institutional "rounders," who remain for short periods in various institutions. The executives of the state schools at Alexander, Arkansas; Salem, Oregon; Milford, Nebraska; Chillicothe, Missouri; Beloit, Kansas; and Howard, Rhode Island, are among those holding this view.

It is believed by many superintendents that women who have lived all their lives in sheltered homes do not always possess the greatest understanding and skill in working with disadvantaged girls. Such women often find it difficult to adapt themselves to new conditions and to understand the point of view of the girl who has had a very different background from any known to them.

Business training or experience was not given by many superintendents as a needed qualification for institutional workers as a whole. We feel, however, that the chief clerk, the bookkeeper, the steward, and the business manager (if any) would certainly profit from previous experience in a well-organized business office.

An analysis submitted below of the previous experience of 65 employes of Sleighton Farm, where we gave special attention to matters pertaining to the staff, is of interest. As will be seen by

the statement, in eight instances their experience overlaps. Sleighton Farm, as already indicated, employs more young women directly from college than many institutions, but otherwise we consider the situation in reference to previous experience nearly typical for the girls' schools as a group.

Previous Experience of Employes of Sleighton Farm	Number of Employes
Came directly from school	18
In other institutions	17
As school teacher	14
Came directly from home or acting as housekeeper	6
In business	6
Engaged in mechanical work	3
As dressmaker	2
In farming	2
As nurse	1
As librarian	1
Not stated	3

A superintendent of a school for girls has frequently had various types of experience. We give below the previous experience of 54 superintendents.

Previous Experience of Superintendents	Number of Schools
In similar institutions	27
In other types of institutions	7
As school teacher	27
As physician	3
In case work agencies	4
In business	6

The statement shows that practically one-half of the superintendents have been in other institutions with similar functions. The same proportion have been school teachers. These two kinds of experience constitute the only types common to any large number of these executives. It is an interesting fact that, while one-half had formerly been in a similar institution, only one-sixth (9 of 54) had worked up from the ranks in the training school of which they now have charge. Very few (4 of 54) have had social case work experience outside of an institution.

In general, the question of previous experience would seem to be largely an individual matter with candidates for each position. It is safe to say, however, that as a group the women who are most successful with delinquent girls have done some type of work outside their own homes, and have at some time been in direct contact with numbers of children, in one capacity or another.

Age of Workers

In earlier years most of the workers in institutions for delinquent girls (in common with other children's institutions) were middle-aged or past. In recent years there has been more complete understanding of the spirit of youth and of the influences exercised by young people over other young people. During her superintendency at Sleighton Farm, Pennsylvania, Mrs. Martha P. Falconer introduced the practice of using young college women in many positions, including cottage matrons, a practice which is continued by the present superintendent, Miss Emily Morrison. As this view has gained wider acceptance, more young women have been added to the staffs of these schools, though it is still true, taking the 57 schools as a whole, that the large majority of the workers are of middle age or past. Only a few superintendents stated their desire for recent college graduates as cottage matrons.

There is, however, in the best schools today a decided tendency to secure for numerous positions young women, many of whom have recently been graduated from college. For example, we commonly found such young women as recreation directors, music teachers, garden supervisors, vocational teachers, and academic instructors. In addition to those quite recently graduated, there is a growing tendency to secure women who have been out of school not longer than five or six years, in which period they may have "found themselves" and during which they have had some experience with children, as for example in school teaching. It is rather generally accepted that, besides these two groups of young women, there should be on the staff of a training school for delinquents some "more mature but open-minded," energetic women of middle age whose judgment and experience may provide proper ballast.

The question naturally arises as to the effect of close contact

with these girls who have had such bitter experiences upon young women who come directly from college at twenty-one or twenty-two years of age. It is difficult to secure definite or conclusive evidence on this point. One superintendent who has employed them for some years said that she "had never observed any ill effects on the young women themselves."

With young people on the staff, the problem of providing some social life is of increasing importance. In many institutions, situated near cities or large-sized towns, workers are encouraged to attend meetings of social workers' clubs, concerts, lectures, and the theater. In those more isolated there is often considerable social life within the institution, such as pleasant social gatherings, staff parties, and amateur dramatics. In many schools officers are given pleasant rooms. Generally visitors are definitely encouraged.

In any institution of this kind every worker should have at least one-half day off every week and one week-end every month, at which time she should be encouraged to leave the institution. Some consecutive time, like a week-end, is especially necessary where institutions are somewhat isolated and the expense of a trip to a nearby city for only one-half day is prohibitive. Every employe should receive at least two weeks' and, if possible, one month's annual vacation, with pay, depending upon the nature of her duties and perhaps upon the length of time she has been with the institution. The isolated school should have a small rest cottage for the staff, situated some distance from other institutional buildings. Such a cottage has been maintained successfully in a number of the girls' training schools. It is equipped so that officers may remain overnight and cook their own meals if they so desire.

The matter of young women on a staff, college bred or otherwise, is not wholly one of physical age. Some older people, with a youthful spirit, are really younger than those who have not lived so many years but are old in their point of view. In our opinion, there would be many advantages in a staff, at least half of whose members are under forty years, and an appreciable number under thirty. We think that women who have been out of college five or six years have a greater contribution to make than young women who come directly from school. The former are still youthful in

their point of view and yet they have had a short time in which to adjust themselves to conditions outside of academic cloisters.

Men or Women Workers

The task of remolding and re-educating delinquent girls is primarily a function for women. Men as superintendents of girls' training schools have not been successful. The few institutions in charge of men in the past have been on the whole unsatisfactory. In 56 of the 57 institutions visited the superintendents were women. In three the husband of the superintendent is also a member of the staff, but his wife is in charge. The one state school where a man is superintendent cares for various types of colored children in different departments on the same grounds. The plan is temporary, adopted because it is felt that the small number of delinquent girls does not warrant the expense of a separate institution with its own superintendent.

In some instances the visiting physicians, dentists, consulting psychologists, and visiting music teachers are men. Men are also employed as farmers, plumbers, painters, carpenters, firemen, and so forth; but those filling such positions were largely engaged in work not directly connected with the training of the girls.

An increasing number of the better schools are placing women in positions formerly filled by men. For example, women graduates of agricultural colleges have charge of farming operations in several schools including those at Samarcand, North Carolina; Sleighton Farm, Pennsylvania; and Columbia, South Carolina. These women operate the farm (including the supervision of the men farm employes) and instruct the girls in outdoor work. Where the head farmer is a man, there is likely to be a woman "farm supervisor," who receives instructions from him and then supervises the girls in their outdoor work.

Most of the superintendents want as many of the positions as possible to be held by women; especially those that have any direct connection with the girls. Women physicians are much desired. Two superintendents, however, wished their girls "to know and work with some men of the right type," and therefore had a number of men on their staffs. Our own judgment on the subject is that, while a normal girl needs the influence of a father

as well as a mother, and should be brought up with brothers as well as sisters, delinquent girls in an institution can best be cared for by women. The freedom can be greater and the supervision less strict. Another reason for selecting women is because the attitude of the majority of these girls toward men is one of the things that need correction. The difficulty is not so much one of securing men whose character is above reproach, as of their being able to meet the girls' attitude wisely, especially that of newcomers.

Colored Workers for Colored Girls

In numerous states there is considerable discussion concerning the most desirable provisions for delinquent colored girls and the advisability of employing colored officers. Of the 57 schools visited, 23 care for white girls only; 25 for both white and colored; nine for colored girls exclusively. In eight of these the entire staff is colored; in one there are white workers.

The eight schools caring exclusively for colored girls and having staffs composed entirely of colored workers are all situated in southern states, or where the point of view is distinctly southern. The best known is the Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls, of which Mrs. Janie Porter Barrett is superintendent. The quality of the work done there as a whole compares favorably with that of the best schools for white girls. The one school for colored girls staffed by white workers is situated in Maryland.

In the 25 girls' schools where both white and colored girls are cared for in the same institution the composition of the staff is as follows:[1]

	Number of Schools
White officers in separate cottages for colored girls	4
Colored officers in separate cottages for colored girls	4
White officers for colored and white girls who live together in the same cottages	17

Some years ago at Sleighton Farm the system was inaugurated of colored women workers for colored girls. After several years, however, it seemed wise to discontinue the practice of employing

[1] In one congregate institution there is a separate department for colored girls, with white officers in charge.

colored officers only, and now both white and colored women work with the colored girls. The colored girls live in separate cottages but join the white girls in their intercottage play.

Most of the 17 schools where white and colored girls live together in the same cottages, under the supervision of white workers, are located in the North. In many of these schools the number of colored girls is so small that neither a separate cottage nor a separate institution seems practicable, even where it may be desired by those in authority.

In 12 only of the 57 schools visited were there colored women working with the colored girls in the cottages or as teachers. Their absence does not, however, express the preference of the superintendents, as properly trained colored workers are difficult to secure.

One-half (28 of 57) of the superintendents favor separate institutions for colored girls, though there were only nine such schools among those visited. An additional fifth (11 of 57) favored separate cottages for the colored girls. Miss Emily Morrison, of Sleighton Farm, considers that their system of separate cottages, with white and colored women in charge, is working out very successfully.

In general, the trend is toward separate institutions for colored delinquent girls in the South and separate cottages in the North, when the number of colored girls is sufficient to make this plan feasible. We may reasonably expect that in the future there will be an increasing number of colored workers as more colored women receive training in this field.

The Superintendent

Thus far in our discussion we have been considering as a whole the group of employes who work directly with the girls. Further mention of the special qualifications and duties of the superintendent should be made. She constitutes the greatest single factor in the success or failure of a training school for girls. She should not only be a good executive, but what is of even more importance, a student of behavior problems. She should have had special training or experience in social case work outside of an institution. The possession of poise, good judgment, creative ability, open-

mindedness, understanding, and qualities of leadership is necessary. She deals with the results of failure elsewhere. No other agency has been able to solve the problem presented to her. This is a task which demands the highest type of training.

As a rule the power to select and supervise her staff is in her hands. She must be able to make all the members of the staff work together for the common good—toward one great end. The test of a superintendent's fitness for the position she holds is well expressed by Mary W. Dewson as the "ability to send out her girls not only capable of making themselves useful, but possessing something of the good everyday virtues and in possession of the standards and the ideals of living and of conduct which belong to plain, hard-working, self-respecting people. . . . She must be wise to see the real significance of this period of quiet training and preparation, so that at its end her girls will be willing and eager to leave the protected life of the institution, and in earnest about taking their places once more in the world." Miss Dewson believes that the influence of a good superintendent "will hold her charges stable and make them unconsciously love an orderly and disciplined life."[1]

The superintendent, under the general direction of the board, manages all the affairs of the institution. She should attend the meetings of the board and submit regular written reports, giving in as great detail as possible the work accomplished and the plans for the future. She should learn through study, visits to other institutions, attending conferences, and various other means, the best known methods of re-educating delinquent girls. What she learns should be passed on to her staff through personal conferences, supervision, and staff meetings. A meeting of the entire staff, or at least of those working directly with the girls, should be held at least once in two weeks. Outside speakers who have a knowledge of general social problems, as well as of problems peculiar to delinquency, should be asked to address the workers at frequent intervals. The superintendent should see that her staff receives proper recreational facilities.

Keeping in mind all the qualifications that have been mentioned

[1] Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1910, p. 36. (A joint statement of Mary W. Dewson and Hastings H. Hart.)

for the superintendent and the staff of a training school for girls, the question naturally arises how to secure employes thus endowed. To provide skilled service with individualized, scientific study and treatment is, of course, imperative. We believe that schools of social work, colleges, and normal schools should become more interested in the highly specialized problems of institutions for delinquents and more prepared to offer the right kind of training to workers. Then, with the public educated to support properly such work, we can expect to attract to the service of these schools more and more young women with the necessary qualifications.

CHAPTER IV

SALARIES IN TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS

IN THE course of our study of public training schools for girls we were constantly asked: "What do other schools pay their workers?" We found widespread interest in this question of salaries. Legislators, appropriation and budget committees, state departments, managing boards, and superintendents wished to know how the institutions in which they are interested rank in this respect, even though they might realize that each school and each state presents a separate problem.

Importance of Adequate Salaries

This whole question of salaries is closely linked to that of personnel. As we have stated previously, the size and quality of a staff constitute the most important factors in the success or failure of a school. Although some of the best work with delinquent girls in this country is being done in schools where salaries are low, because a real missionary spirit prevails, the people of the United States cannot expect to develop or maintain the highest quality of work without adequately compensating those responsible for it. Individuals, because of their devotion and interest, may remain for much less than they are worth, but considering the country as a whole we cannot expect to attract and keep a large group of workers of the highest type if the salaries are not somewhere nearly commensurate with the qualifications demanded.

Even if it is possible to secure a sufficient number of workers at low salaries, is a state justified in conducting an institution in which employes are not paid what they are worth? Many social workers receive less than they could earn in business positions, but at least those engaged in social work for the state should be paid as much as they could secure if they were working for a

private social service organization. Although one would like to satisfy the widespread interest in the salaries that are paid throughout the country, there are certain dangers to be avoided in any attempt to draw comparisons between the different schools. Many factors bear a close relationship to rates of salaries paid.

Factors Related to Salary Standards

Size of School. In the larger institutions higher salaries may be paid without raising the per capita cost for the children in care to an unreasonable sum. If these same salaries were paid to specialists in very small schools, the per capita cost might be prohibitive. There are some small institutions, however, where remuneration is adequate, especially for certain positions; also there are some salaries in large institutions which come near the bottom of the salary list. Superintendents and cottage matrons tend to have larger salaries in the larger schools, while the salaries of academic teachers show no consistent tendency to vary with the size of school.

Age of School. A new school must often demonstrate first, with little money, what should be done for its pupils before an adequate appropriation is obtainable. However, a school founded on new ideas and under the direction of a progressive board, sometimes meets more fully than does an older one the need for sufficient compensation.

Type of Control. Sometimes a private or semi-private institution is not so well supplied with funds as a state training school; but there is often greater freedom of the board in a private organization to combine positions and salaries and to make other adjustments than is possible in public institutions of larger resources.

Stage of Social Development Reached by a State. In those states where there is wider acceptance of the idea that the treatment of juvenile delinquency is a highly specialized task, it is less difficult to secure adequate salaries for trained workers than in states where most of the population still considers a training school primarily a place for detention and custodial care.

Wealth of the Body of Citizens. At the time of our visits to these schools, some of the southern and western states were in difficult financial circumstances, with many bank failures. Citizens hard

pressed are not likely to approve increased appropriations for salaries of workers in state institutions. The support of such institutions is often closely allied with methods and rates of taxation. Much outside capital may be invested by companies that pay relatively small taxes. This matter is a technical one requiring much study. In some cases larger appropriations probably cannot be expected until there is a change in the taxation system.

Section of Country Where an Institution Is Located. Certain types of workers are generally paid less, for example, in the South than in the East. The rates in the different sections are also affected by the general salary situation outside the institution.

Number of Available Trained Workers. Schools far from a source of supply may be obliged to pay relatively high salaries to secure specialists.

Dangers in Salary Comparisons

It is necessary to keep all these points in mind in order to avoid unwarranted conclusions when comparing salaries. Before one is able to attack this problem in any one state he must know the exact situation in that locality and be familiar with the particular institution. For example, he must know the nature of the duties attached to specific positions; in some schools, workers with the same official titles have very different responsibilities and duties. In one southern state where the salary averages for cottage matrons are high, each matron is also a specialist in some particular line and conducts vocational classes. The director of student government may carry most of the duties generally performed by an assistant superintendent, and hence her salary may be comparable to that given in other schools for the latter position. If one favors a higher salary for a certain position, it does not necessarily mean that the person who now occupies it should receive the larger compensation. The present incumbent may be sufficiently paid for the service given. The need may be for a higher type of worker.

In addition to avoiding dangers in comparing salaries between schools, it is important to remind ourselves at this point of certain limitations in the value of salary averages. There is danger in considering too small a group of units, whereby a few unusually high or unusually low rates may appreciably affect the average for a given position. The mathematically correct average may not

represent a salary common to any of the institutions. It should be remembered that in this study salary averages for some positions are based on relatively few positions. For example, among all schools for white or white and colored girls, there were in 1915 not more than a half-dozen schools and in 1921 only four schools which reported salaries for recreation or physical director; hence the average salary for that position would be based on a very few cases.

Value of Salary Tables

Although the dangers and limitations cited should not be overlooked, we feel that information regarding salary averages in these schools is valuable, and that it is worth knowing whether a given school has a rate of compensation appreciably higher or lower than the average for the United States as a whole and also whether its relationship to the general average is typical or not of the particular section of the country in which it is located. This information should be especially helpful to schools at present paying pitiably inadequate salaries. During the process of compilation we had repeated requests for these data from boards and superintendents who felt that the information might constitute a sound basis for requests for adequate salary appropriations.

The material may be of assistance in evolving minimum salary standards for some types of work, that is, salaries less than which no one should be paid. The value of such standards has been questioned. But if they were worked out there would still be the opportunity to consider each individual on her merits, a particular worker being worth perhaps considerably more than the minimum stipulated. Any attempt, however, to determine non-elastic standards for the different types of positions, without considering the locations of schools, the variations in size, and in the training of workers, would be misleading.

Another set of facts needs consideration in making salary comparisons. Many of the incumbents receive maintenance as part of their compensation. If figures for the monetary compensation alone are compared, proportional differences will be much exaggerated. In comparing compensation where the full amount is paid in money with compensation which is paid partly in money and partly in maintenance, the value of maintenance must, in the

latter class of cases, be added to the amount paid in money in order to make just comparisons. By official figures, the general cost of living in 1921 had advanced 66 per cent over 1915; but the cost of items included under maintenance had advanced only 54 per cent, while the cost of necessaries not included in maintenance had advanced 85 per cent.[1] Therefore, while in cases where the whole compensation was paid in cash the percentage of increase required to offset the rise in total cost of living was about 66 per cent, in cases where maintenance was provided a considerably larger percentage increase in the portion of compensation paid in cash was necessary to offset the greater percentage increase in cost of items which are not included in maintenance.

Methods of Tabulation

In general, the plan of the tables and the methods of computation for these girls' schools with three or four exceptions to be noted later are similar to those used for the boys' schools. In securing the material for tabulation, an effort was made to obtain a representative payroll from each training school for girls, one having no unusual features as to number of workers, types of positions, or salaries paid. This payroll was for one month in 1921 (or 1922) and for one month in 1915, the latter being for the purpose of disclosing the advancement of rates in six years' time. The data show (1) the salary rate for each worker; (2) the actual amount paid to each in the month for which the payroll was furnished; and (3) the type of maintenance provided.

The superintendents were entirely co-operative, but in some instances inadequate records made it difficult or impossible to secure the information desired. These officers as a whole, including some who do high-grade work, give less attention to the financial and population statistics than do many superintendents of boys' schools. A number of the schools have been established since 1915, making impossible any comparison of rates of increase between that year and 1921. In others, there have been changes of administration since 1915 and the old records are either not available or in such form as to be of little value.

[1] See Monthly Labor Review (U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics), Washington, Vol. 24, Feb., 1927, p. 181, for data on which these figures are based.

Annual Statement of Salaries. After securing monthly payrolls in the best form obtainable they were converted into annual statements of salaries. These data were then tabulated by schools, for each class of workers, for both years (1921 or 1922 and 1915). Institutions caring exclusively for colored girls, regardless of location, were grouped together, and the salary averages for them tabulated separately. This material will be found in Table 2 on page 99.

Schools for Colored Tabulated Separately. The salaries in the schools for colored girls, as a whole, are considerably lower than those for workers in similar positions in institutions where all or a majority of the pupils are white. For example, the average salary for superintendent in the schools for colored girls in 1921 was $1,030; in the other institutions it was $2,063 (almost exactly double). For a cottage matron in the schools for the colored it was $548; for the white or white and colored together, $724; for an academic school teacher in the former, $490; in the latter, $801. It should also be remembered that the schools for colored girls are the smaller institutions, and that a number are located in parts of the country where financial resources are limited. The superintendents of the schools for colored girls may find this separate grouping advantageous, for it provides a basis of comparison between the salaries of their particular institutions and those of other training schools for colored girls. At the same time it shows how these salaries rank with those paid in the training schools caring for white girls or for colored and white together.

After the monthly payrolls had been converted into annual statements of salaries and the material had been tabulated for each class of workers for both years by schools (with separate tabulation as noted for schools for colored girls), the material for schools caring for white or white and colored girls together was then combined to form a table for the United States as a whole. This summarizing material is found in Table 1 on page 98.[1]

Staff Titles and Groupings. The various positions have been classified under seven main group headings and 37 staff titles.

[1] A school wishing to determine how it stands with respect to a salary for a given position should first compare it with the general average for the country in Table 1 and then consult the adjacent text to discover whether any significant variation from the general average may be typical of that section of the country in which the school is found.

There are great differences between schools in the titles used for positions that carry many of the same duties. On the other hand, workers with the same titles often have very different functions. To record all titles found would have been impossible in a summarizing table. Therefore we tried to classify the types of work contained in the different positions under the titles most generally used. While our aim has been to cover all important positions in every school, these tables should not be interpreted as showing our views regarding an ideal staff; no one school may need all the 37 positions listed. As a matter of fact, none examined had workers in each of the positions named; but all of these staff titles seemed necessary in order to include all workers holding important positions.

In the main we have followed the group headings and staff titles worked out for the report on the training schools for boys. But to meet the situation found in the schools for girls, we changed the names of a few of the positions and reclassified some of the staff titles under other group headings. An effort was made to classify all workers by actual functions rather than by the titles found in the institutional payrolls. Where a worker does several kinds of work the classification was based on what seemed to be her chief function.

All the positions classified under "Vocational Training" in the tables for the boys' schools were grouped under "Operation," in the tables for the girls' schools except three positions which are omitted entirely. In the boys' schools, the chief functions of the mechanic, carpenter, and mason, for example, may be to teach industrial trades; but in the girls' schools, certainly, most of the time of men in these positions is given to work about the plant.

The title "head farmer," as classified under "Operation" in the tables for the girls' schools, includes all the men head farmers and five women who were in charge of farms. The salary of the one woman head farmer in 1915 was $1,200; in 1921 the four women head farmers were paid at the following rates:[1]

One	$900
Two	1,200
One	1,500

[1] Usually the head farmers receive house rent, vegetables, and milk as part of their compensation.

TABLE I.—AVERAGE SALARIES IN TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS (WHITE, OR WHITE AND COLORED) FOR THE YEARS 1915 AND 1921—36 STATES[a]—48 SCHOOLS

Position	All schools reporting					Schools reporting both years			
	1915		1921		Per cent increase	Schools reporting	1915	1921	Per cent increase
	Schools reporting	Average salary	Schools reporting	Average salary			Average salary	Average salary	
Administration									
1. Superintendent	34	$1,596	47	$2,063	29	34	$1,596	$2,092	31
2. Asst. superintendent	12	1,052	21	1,338	27	12	1,052	1,443	37
3. Chief matron or supervisor of cottages	7	609	13	941	55	7	609	939	54
4. Chief clerk or steward	10	897	15	1,124	25	9	917	1,127	23
5. Clerk or stenographer	19	491	25	789	61	19	491	802	63
6. Parole officer	12	748	18	976	30	12	748	1,049	40
Examination and Treatment									
7. Physician	14	621	21	720	b	12	610	683	b
8. Dentist	5	787	5	493	b	3	443	641	b
9. Psychologist or psychiatrist	2	660	2	810	23	1	720	900	25
10. Nurse	14	624	25	958	54	12	633	933	47
Caretakers									
11. Cottage matron	29	507	41	724	43	29	507	724	43
12. Asst. matron	7	419	9	640	53	6	449	641	43
13. Housekeeper	30	401	37	631	57	28	402	627	56
14. Cook or domestic	3	333	2	600	80	2	350	600	71
15. Watchman or guard	9	469	12	633	35	7	475	657	38
16. Relief officer	9	386	19	617	60	8	394	589	49
Religious Services									
17. Religious director	1	480	2	690	44	1	480	660	38
Academic School									
18. Principal	7	755	13	1,034	37	6	810	1,110	37
19. Acad. teacher	24	495	35	801	62	24	495	768	55
20. Music teacher	11	545	15	875	61	10	564	901	60
21. Student gov't officer	—	—	4	1,035	—	—	—	—	—
22. Recreation or physical director	6	527	9	787	49	4	535	765	43
Vocational Training									
23. Domestic science (cooking)	12	563	17	866	54	9	557	902	62
24. Sewing	22	470	27	693	47	18	468	699	49
25. Millinery	—	—	1	900	—	—	—	—	—
26. Laundry	16	430	22	695	62	12	426	664	56
27. Woman farm supervisor	6	470	18	759	61	6	470	650	38
28. Commercial	—	—	3	900	—	—	—	—	—
Operation of Plant									
29. Engineer	14	887	17	1,380	56	13	909	1,458	60
30. Asst. engineer or fireman	9	576	13	962	67	8	581	1,012	74
31. Head farmer	18	754	30	1,108	47	18	754	1,183	57
32. Gardener or florist	2	660	6	855	30	1	720	1,140	58
33. Dairyman	2	480	5	720	50	2	480	690	44
34. Mechanic	4	548	10	1,012	85	4	548	940	72
35. Carpenter	5	798	6	1,627	104	3	860	1,802	110
36. Painter	4	809	4	1,379	70	4	809	1,379	70
37. Mason	3	942	2	1,722	83	2	972	1,722	77

[a] District of Columbia included.

[b] Since these are part-time officers, comparison of salaries between 1915 and 1921 is not made.

TABLE 2.—AVERAGE SALARIES IN TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS (COLORED ONLY) FOR THE YEARS 1915 AND 1921—9 STATES—9 SCHOOLS

Position[a]	All schools reporting					Schools reporting both years			
	1915		1921		Per cent increase	Schools reporting	1915	1921	Per cent increase
	Schools reporting	Average salary	Schools reporting	Average salary			Average salary	Average salary	
Administration									
Superintendent	1	$600	6[b]	$1,030	72	1	$600	$720	20
Chief matron or supervisor of cottages	—	—	1	600	—	—	—	—	—
Chief clerk or steward	1	600	1	720	20	1	600	720	20
Examination and Treatment									
Physician	1	198	3	370	[c]	1	198	360	[c]
Dentist	—	—	1	300	—	—	—	—	—
Nurse	—	—	1	600	—	—	—	—	—
Caretakers									
Cottage matron	1	300	8	548	83	1	300	480	60
Housekeeper	—	—	2	630	—	—	—	—	—
Cook or domestic	1	240	1	300	25	1	240	300	25
Watchman or guard	—	—	1	720	—	—	—	—	—
Academic School									
Academic teacher	1	300	3[d]	490	63	1	300	420	40
Vocational Training									
Sewing	1	240	2	570	138	1	240	300	25
Laundry	—	—	1	300	—	—	—	—	—
Woman farm supervisor	—	—	1	240	—	—	—	—	—
Operation of Plant									
Engineer	—	—	1	900	—	—	—	—	—
Head farmer	1	360	2[e]	900	150	1	360	900	150

[a] Only those positions are here listed for which at least one salary statement for some school was obtained.
[b] Omits one school in 1921 with a salary of $2,760 for the superintendent, who has charge of a large school of which the delinquent girls form only a small part.
[c] Since these are part-time officers, comparison of salaries between 1915 and 1921 is not justifiable.
[d] Omits one school in 1921 with a teacher paid $990 by the Board of Education.
[e] Omits one school in 1921 where farmer receives no maintenance (salary $480).

A few of the men and all the women head farmers in the girls' schools give some time to the instruction of the pupils, but their chief responsibility is the management of the farms; hence the classification under "Operation." Under "Vocational Training" we added a new staff title, "woman farm supervisor." These supervisors do not, of course, include the women who have been listed as head farmers; but the group does include (for 1921) two assistants to the women head farmers, together with the women workers who supervise and instruct the girls in various types of outdoor work.

Some positions added under "Vocational Training" were teachers of domestic science, millinery, and commercial subjects. Laundresses and seamstresses were transferred from the class entitled "Caretakers" in the tables for the boys' schools to "Vocational Training," and their titles changed to laundry and sewing teachers. We also added a director of student government, changed the title of chaplain to that of religious director, and omitted that of cottage master and bandmaster. We have retained the group title, "Caretakers," for comparative purposes with the boys' schools, although in the schools for girls the cottage matrons and housekeepers should be and are in numerous cases primarily teachers. Few workers in these schools for girls should be designated domestics, the girls themselves doing the housework under the supervision of officers supposed to be teachers. As will be explained later, housework is a part of the girls' training.

Classification by Type of Maintenance. It should also be noted that in the tabulation of the salary averages in the girls' schools, we attempted to classify positions according to the type of maintenance provided. Some employes receive complete maintenance; some none; others are given a house but no meals; while in a few instances meals are provided, but not living quarters. These varying degrees of maintenance, of course, greatly affect the comparative compensation of workers. A resident teacher, for example, who receives a low salary, may actually be receiving a higher rate of compensation than does a worker at a larger salary who pays for her board and room in a nearby town. When comparing the salaries of any particular type of worker in one institution with those paid persons holding a similar position in other schools, we

should include only those employes receiving the same type of maintenance; otherwise comparisons are certain to be misleading.

Tables 1 and 2 showing averages for schools for white or white and colored and for schools for colored girls were based only on the salaries of those workers who received the type of maintenance which seemed most characteristic for their particular positions (taking the United States as a whole). This means that where several workers held similar positions in a school but received different grades of maintenance, we classified those salaries separately and based our average on those salaries alone where the worker had the degree of maintenance characteristic for that position. For example, when it was found that the characteristic maintenance for a particular position was complete maintenance, in the two or three exceptional instances where for this position luncheon only was provided, the salaries of workers in these few positions were not included among those on which the salary average was based.

In working out the tables we found (as we expected would be the case) that complete maintenance was characteristic of the majority of positions, save in the "Operation" division and for some specialists. Under "Operation" we found that the types of maintenance varied greatly. After some study it was decided in the case of the following workers to include in the tabulation only those who received complete maintenance or were given a house: engineers, assistant engineers, head farmers, gardeners, dairymen, and mechanics.

We averaged separately the salaries of the non-resident part-time, and the resident full-time physicians and dentists. In Tables 1 and 2 we included only the non-resident part-time specialists in these lines. The three resident full-time physicians reported for 1915 received $1,320, $1,600 and $1,620, and for the same positions in 1921 the salaries were $2,000, $2,100, and $2,250, while for the four other schools reporting for 1921 only the average was $1,650. One school (the State Training School for Girls at Geneva, Illinois) in 1921 employed a resident full-time dentist at a salary of $2,100. Another (Home School for Girls at Sauk Center, Minnesota) in 1921 employed a part-time dentist who lived at the school three days a week and received $1,742 for his work in this institution.

The salaries of the non-resident part-time doctors and dentists are not strictly comparable, as the amounts of service vary greatly between the institutions; those of the resident full-time specialists, however, are comparable. It should be borne in mind that in the tabulation for the girls' schools only workers who received regular salaries were included. If a physician, dentist, or religious director was paid by the visit, his salary was not included. If a regular amount was paid for part or full-time work, it was included.

Salary Averages. It is understood, of course, that the salary average for a position in a school may not be the actual salary of any worker holding that position. There may be 10 cottage matrons in a school receiving different salaries, but only the salary average for the position is used as a basis for the tables in this chapter. The number of matrons in one institution may vary greatly from the number in another, but this does not affect the salary average as here computed. After the average for a particular position in a certain school has been computed, it is averaged with the salary averages for the same position in all the other girls' schools.

It will be noted that in the tables there are more schools reporting in 1921 than in 1915 for reasons already mentioned. For each staff title the number of schools on which the salary averages are based is given in the tables, which enables one to make some surmise as to the relative value of a salary average for any specific position. The percentage of salary increases for the various positions is based on all schools reporting; then, in a parallel column, a separate calculation shows the salary averages and the comparisons of increases for those schools which gave a salary for each position in both years, 1915 and 1921 (or 1922). For example, for the position of superintendent, if all the schools for girls were included, the percentage of salary increase in 1921 over 1915 was 84 per cent. If only those schools were used as a basis of computation which reported a salary for this position in both 1915 and 1921, the percentage of increase was only 31 per cent. In other words, a group of schools which paid a higher salary than the average in 1915 had opened between these two dates, and this 84 per cent is thus not an accurate figure for the increase of salaries for superintendents of schools in existence as early as 1915.

Table 3 shows the degree of variation for those 10 positions. It will be seen, for instance, that half the superintendents have salaries differing 15 per cent or more from the average salary, (i. e. one-fourth have salaries not over $1,650, and one-fourth above $2,400). The degree of variation for 1915 was much the same as for 1921.

TABLE 3.—VARIATION IN SALARIES IN TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS IN 1921[a]

Position	Of all salaries				
	One-tenth	One-fourth	One-half	Three-fourths	Nine-tenths
	are not more than:				
Superintendent	$1,260	$1,650	$2,000	$2,400	$3,100
Assistant superintendent	825	1,200	1,200	1,500	1,820
Parole officer	750	880	980	1,125	1,350
Nurse	720	780	900	1,200	1,200
Cottage matron	600	605	730	820	900
Cottage housekeeper	530	580	600	660	750
Academic teacher	600	670	815	900	960
Recreation director	—	660	780	900	—
Sewing teacher	500	600	650	790	900
Head farmer	690	840	960	1,200	1,500

[a] Salaries in schools for colored girls only are not included in this table.

Some interesting contrasts require mention which do not appear in Tables 1 and 2. They relate to typical variation between sections of the country. It was found that averages for sections of the country provide contrasts which are often quite misleading. Not only would the salaries averaged often be few, but wide variation inside the same section would dwarf all variation between sectional averages. The more pertinent and more scientific comparison results from ascertaining whether each section contributes more to the upper or to the lower end of the salary list. Table 4 gives information on this head, although naturally no table can attempt to condense the whole story, and the number of salaries reported is often too small for differences shown by the table to be certainly significant.

Such safe conclusions as result may be given here, beginning with those of broadest application.

In general, the highest salaries in the girls' schools are found in the Mountain and Coast Section, which is also true of the boys' institutions. We were led to expect the lowest salaries in the Southern Section, and we found that some institutions paid very

TABLE 4A.—SALARIES IN TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS (WHITE, OR WHITE AND COLORED) IN 1915

Number of Salaries Reported, Classified by Sections of the Country and by Percentage Relationship to General Averages

Position	Eastern			Southern			Midwestern			Mountain and Coast		
	More than 10 per cent below average	Within 10 per cent of average	More than 10 per cent above average	More than 10 per cent below average	Within 10 per cent of average	More than 10 per cent above average	More than 10 per cent below average	Within 10 per cent of average	More than 10 per cent above average	More than 10 per cent below average	Within 10 per cent of average	More than 10 per cent above average
Administration												
Superintendent	5	1	4	4	1	—	7	2	6	1	1	2
Asst. superintendent	—	—	4	—	—	—	4	—	1	2	—	1
Chief matron or supervisor of cottages	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	1	2	—	—	—
Chief clerk or steward	—	—	1	—	—	—	5	3	—	—	—	1
Clerk or stenographer	2	2	1	1	1	—	—	6	5	1	—	—
Parole officer	3	—	2	—	—	—	1	5	1	—	—	1
Examination and Treatment												
Psychologist or psychiatrist	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Nurse	2	1	1	—	—	—	2	2	3	1	1	1
Caretakers												
Cottage matron	4	4	1	2	1	2	4	6	3	—	1	2
Asst. matron	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	1	1
Housekeeper	3	3	3	1	2	1	4	8	1	—	2	2
Cook or domestic	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
Watchman or guard	—	2	2	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	1
Relief officer	—	1	1	1	—	—	2	3	—	—	—	1
Religious Services												
Religious director	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Academic School												
Principal	1	1	1	—	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	—
Acad. teacher	6	1	2	1	—	—	2	6	1	—	1	3
Music teacher	3	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	5	—	1	—
Student gov't officer	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Recreation or physical director	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Vocational Training												
Domestic science (cooking)	1	—	2	2	4	—	—	—	—	2	1	—
Sewing	5	3	1	1	—	—	3	2	1	—	1	3
Millinery	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Laundry	3	4	2	—	—	—	1	3	2	—	—	1
Woman farm supervisor	1	1	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1
Commercial	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

low sums but that there are a number of new southern schools for girls which maintain high standards and pay unusually well. This brings up the average for the Southern Section as a whole for schools caring for white or for white and colored girls together.

Tables 4A and 4B make it possible to present in more definite form these general statements about the different sections, and also to present some particular contrasts for some of the positions listed. These tables, for 1915 and 1921 respectively, show for 26 of the first 28 positions in Table 1 (that is, of all excluding Operation

TABLE 4B.—SALARIES IN TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS (WHITE, OR WHITE AND COLORED) IN 1921

Number of Salaries Reported, Classified by Sections of the Country and by Percentage Relationship to General Averages

Position	Eastern			Southern			Midwestern			Mountain and Coast		
	More than 10 per cent below average	Within 10 per cent of average	More than 10 per cent above average	More than 10 per cent below average	Within 10 per cent of average	More than 10 per cent above average	More than 10 per cent below average	Within 10 per cent of average	More than 10 per cent above average	More than 10 per cent below average	Within 10 per cent of average	More than 10 per cent above average
Administration												
Superintendent	5	2	3	8	4	2	7	5	6	3	1	2
Asst. superintendent	2	2	2	—	1	2	2	4	2	—	2	2
Chief matron or supervisor of cottages	1	3	—	—	—	—	2	4	2	—	1	—
Chief clerk or steward	—	—	2	2	—	—	5	4	1	—	2	—
Clerk or stenographer	2	4	—	1	2	2	2	5	4	—	2	1
Parole officer	4	2	1	2	1	—	—	4	3	—	—	1
Examination and Treatment												
Psychologist or psychiatrist	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nurse	2	2	1	2	2	3	4	2	4	1	1	1
Caretakers												
Cottage matron	4	3	2	6	1	4	4	7	5	—	3	1
Asst. matron	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	2	2
Housekeeper	1	3	5	3	5	1	2	9	4	—	2	2
Cook or domestic	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Watchman or guard	1	—	3	—	1	—	3	1	1	1	—	1
Relief officer	1	3	—	—	3	—	3	3	2	1	2	1
Religious Services												
Religious director	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
Academic School												
Principal	1	—	3	3	—	—	—	3	1	1	—	1
Acad. teacher	6	2	1	2	4	4	3	3	5	—	2	3
Music teacher	2	1	1	1	1	—	1	4	2	1	1	—
Student gov't officer	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
Recreation or physical director	1	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	—	1
Vocational Training												
Domestic science (cooking)	3	1	—	—	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	2
Sewing	4	4	1	3	—	3	5	2	3	—	1	1
Millinery	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Laundry	4	2	1	2	—	1	4	4	2	—	1	1
Woman farm supervisor	1	—	2	—	—	4	3	2	2	1	2	1
Commercial	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—

of Plant), the number of salaries reported from each section which are: (1) more than 10 per cent below the general average for that position; (2) within 10 per cent of that average; (3) more than 10 per cent above that average. As an example take superintendents' salaries in the East in 1921: there were 10 of these, of which five were more than 10 per cent below the average; that average was $2,063, therefore these five were less than $1,857 ($2,063 less $206); three were more than 10 per cent above the average, that is, were more than $2,269 ($2,063 plus $206); the remaining two were

within 10 per cent of the average, that is, were between $1,857 and $2,269.

Summarizing the results of this tabulation we find, for all 26 occupations together, that of all salaries reported for a section, the following percentages were respectively more than 10 per cent below, or above, the salary average for the country:

		Section of United States				
		Eastern	Southern	Midwestern	Mountain and Coast	All Sections
		Per Cent of Salaries Reported for 26 Occupations				
More than 10 per cent below average	1915	41	68	36	17	38
	1921	41	39	30	16	33
More than 10 per cent above average	1915	28	14	26	55	30
	1921	25	31	30	39	30

This bears out the statement above that salaries are high in the Mountain and Coast Section. It shows also that the South has made a remarkable advance, though this is due in considerable measure to the new schools not existing in 1915, that the Midwest has somewhat improved, and that the East remains where it was in relation to the general average for the country. According to this crude general measure the Mountain and Coast Section showed up best at both dates, the Midwest next, the South much the worst in 1915, but by the improvement in the South the East was worse by a smaller margin in 1921.

Next, generalizing by groups of occupations, we find that in 1915 the East had many low salaries in academic and vocational occupations; the South had low salaries throughout; the Midwest had very many low in caretakers' positions, and many low in administrative and vocational positions, and had rather a large number high in academic positions; the Mountain and Coast Section had very many high in caretakers' positions, and many high in academic and vocational positions. In 1921 the East had many low in administrative, academic and vocational positions, and rather a large number high in caretakers' positions; the South had many low in administrative and caretakers' positions, and

many high in vocational positions; the Midwest had many low in vocational and many high in academic; the Mountain and Coast Section had many high throughout except in examination and treatment.

Respecting the 26 separate positions on the list, the situation in 1915 or 1921 is easily seen from Tables 4 A and 4 B. The outstanding features for 1921 are the low salaries to superintendents and stewards in the South, and to parole officers and academic, sewing, and laundry teachers in the East, and the high salaries to academic teachers in the Mountain and Coast Section and to women farm supervisors in the South.

Highest and Lowest Salaries. It is also of interest to note the highest and lowest salaries paid for one or two important positions. In 1921 four schools, all for colored girls, paid their superintendent less than $100 a month; the lowest sum was $60 a month. One of these was a state institution. Five schools, including four for white and colored girls, paid their superintendent just $100 a month. Three of these were state institutions. Only two schools in 1921 paid their superintendents $300 a month ($3,600 a year), the highest rate found. Ten paid $208 a month (about $2,500 a year) or more; 26 paid more than $125 ($1,500 a year), but less than $208 a month.

The lowest salary averages for cottage matrons, or housemothers, were found among the schools for colored girls. Of seven schools which paid their matrons not more than $45 a month, five were institutions for colored girls. The lowest single salary for a housemother was $25 a month in a small institution for colored girls; the highest was $83 a month in a small new school with high standards; one other school paid a salary average for this position of $80 a month; five an average of more than $50 but less than $75 a month.

Salaries Especially Inadequate. For some positions salaries commonly paid seem especially inadequate. As we have already noted, the average amount paid the superintendent of a training school for white girls in the United States in 1921 was only $2,063[1] (one-fourth receiving not more than $1,650 and three-fourths not more than $2,400[2]), and if the schools for colored girls are added

[1] See Table 1, p. 98.

[2] See Table 3, p. 103.

to this group the average for the position is reduced to $1,946. This is considerably less than the salary average for a superintendent of a training school for boys. An average of less than $2,100 a year for a woman capable of planning and directing the study, treatment, re-education, and readjustment of delinquent girls, with whom all other agencies have failed, is obviously too low. Such a woman must have knowledge of many subjects and understand the scientific aspects of this technical task. She should also be a good executive. These qualifications should command fitting compensation.

Another group that is noticeably underpaid is that of the cottage mothers. These women, who live close to the girls and hence probably have more opportunity than have most of the other workers to help form their character, received an average salary in the United States in 1921 for the schools for white and for white and colored girls of only $724 a year, one-fourth receiving not more than $605 and three-fourths not more than $820[1]. When schools for colored girls are included the average falls to $695 a year. If we wish to secure and keep as cottage mothers, not worn-out housekeepers who emphasize to the exclusion of many other things immaculate floors and smooth beds, but women of culture and training, who can put into daily practice the ideas of a progressive superintendent, we must pay salaries above those given to domestics. Moreover, a cottage mother's social position on the staff and her free time should be equal to that of other workers, for example, teachers. The superintendent alone cannot carry out her program. On no group must she place more dependence than upon cottage mothers or matrons.

The academic teachers also are not well paid, although their compensation is a little more nearly adequate than that of the matrons. The salary averages of academic teachers, principals of academic schools, physical or recreation directors and parole agents are appreciably lower than for similar positions in the boys' schools. While cottage matrons in the schools for girls are paid more than are the women with that title in the boys' schools, the latter occupy subordinate positions, rendering a somewhat different type of service, and the salaries are not really comparable.

[1] See Table 3, p. 103.

In most of the boys' schools a man (the cottage master) who is in charge of each group is paid considerably more than are the matrons in the girls' schools.

One Group High Proportionally. The salary averages of one group of workers only in the schools for girls seemed high, or at least proportionately so; these were for the men who served as painters, engineers, carpenters, and masons—averages which in 1921 were as follows: $1,379, $1,380, $1,627, and $1,722. The average salary for assistant superintendent in this period was only $1,338, and for principal of the academic school, $1,034. In 1921 the position of superintendent was the only one of the 37 staff titles that carried a salary average larger than the averages of the four positions mentioned whose members had no personal responsibility to the girls and whose connection with the institution came under "Operation of Plant." In the boys' institutions, where the painters, carpenters, and masons are supposed to be teachers of trades, the salary averages for 1921 were respectively $1,155, $1,290, and $1,249—considerably less than in the girls' schools. No doubt in a few of the girls' schools the attitude of some of the members of the board, i. e., that skilled artisans must be well paid but that any woman of good moral character can be a cottage mother at a starvation wage, has something to do with this situation. We should, however, keep in mind the difficulty of securing just the right kind of men to work in institutions for delinquent girls, and we must not forget that in outside communities these artisans are often better paid than are teachers, bank clerks, or office workers. The averages for these positions in the girls' schools, moreover, were based on a relatively small number of individual salaries.

Advance in Salaries in Six Years. A study of the percentage of advance in salary averages for the girls' schools in the six years between 1915 and 1921 shows marked increases in some positions and very small changes in others. The largest increases (with one exception) are for positions held by men under the classification, "Operation of Plant," namely: carpenter, mason, assistant engineer or fireman, and mechanic. For the following five positions the increase in salary is the smallest among the 35 staff titles for which increases can be computed: steward, psychologist, super-

intendent, principal of academic school, and assistant superintendent. For nearly all the positions in both these groups the number of salaries reported is so small that the exact percentage increases have little significance.[1] On the other hand it is probably true that these figures do not sufficiently indicate the loss in relative value of salaries suffered by the workers in the latter group. These workers received maintenance as part of their compensation, so that the percentages of increase shown for them, being computed for salary other than maintenance, really represent the increases in salary to be applied to the other-than-maintenance portions of the cost of living, and it is these other-than-maintenance costs which increased most during the period of generally rising prices.

It is interesting to note that, with the exception of the domestic, all the positions showing the largest percentage of advance in salary averages are in the "Operation" group, the chief duties of whose members are not to the girls; that all those workers, with the possible exception of the steward, who fill the positions for which there has been the lowest percentage of salary increase, should be trained specialists whose task is to re-educate these disadvantaged girls.

Need of Specialists Adequately Paid. Many superintendents realize the great need of more resident or visiting experts such as psychologists, psychiatrists, physicians, dentists, recreation directors, music teachers, and prevocational teachers on their staffs, but they also know that adequate compensation must be offered if they are to secure them. While it is plain that some of the tables do not give an entirely true picture of the number of specialists employed, since classification, as explained before, is by chief functions, and some workers who give only part time to music, recreational supervision, direction of student government, for example, are grouped under other staff titles which more nearly represent their chief duties, the right kind of expert service in the country as a whole is meager enough. Also, as noted, classi-

[1] In considering these wage and wage-increase contrasts, it should be remembered that in 1921 professional salaries in general had suffered a much lower rate of increase than had artisans' wages, but that this difference has in general been diminishing; we do not, however, know whether the same tendency would be found in these schools.

fication by type of maintenance excludes some workers from the tables.

Although some of the best work with these delinquent girls is being done in schools where salaries are pitiably inadequate but where the central idea is the service to be rendered, yet states and communities cannot expect to maintain high standards without giving something like an adequate financial compensation to those who do the work. When citizens and legislators everywhere recognize that the real task of these training schools is not to give custodial care but to carry out a program of scientific study and treatment adapted to the restoration of each emotionally disturbed or wayward girl, we may expect salaries more nearly adequate for those who give of themselves unsparingly and who possess that rarest of gifts—an understanding of human motives and conduct.

CHAPTER V

LOCATION OF PLANT

THE choosing of a site, while of very great importance, is not one of the first steps to be taken in founding a new state training school for girls. As we have already indicated, it is essential that the true function and purposes of the institution should be clearly understood and definitely outlined, together with the types of children to be received for care. After adequate legislation has been secured covering these points a board of managers should be appointed, which in turn should select the executive head of the school. This executive, together with the administrative board, should decide on the work to be undertaken and in a general way should outline the policies and methods to be followed before much thought is given to the selection of a site or to the planning of buildings. Common sense would seem to require that it be known just what is to be done with plant and equipment before a decision is made as to location or types. Unfortunately, however, this has not always been the procedure in establishing institutions. There are great advantages in leaving the selection of a site to the administrative board and the superintendent, rather than to a temporary commission. In some cases the latter plan has led to serious omissions and defects, which could not be changed or which caused great inconvenience and delay in the work.

Selection of Site

In the search for a proper site, the board and the superintendent should remember several important points. First of all, they should have in mind a picture of the completed institution. The best location for a particular institution depends somewhat on the grouping of buildings which is desired, and this grouping in turn will be dependent upon the classification system and the type of work to be undertaken. If separate units or colonies within the

grounds of the institution are eventually to be developed, rather than to have all buildings grouped around one center, the location must permit that kind of growth. In planning for the future it will be necessary to have in mind the ultimate capacity and also the size of cottage units.

Second, the board should recognize the value of consultation service from experts. It should secure opinions regarding a particular site from experienced superintendents, a competent engineer, an expert on soil, an architect, a landscape gardener who can outline developments of the property, and a reliable real estate agent who is in a position to know prices. The selection of a site that will probably be used for a hundred years requires time and deliberation. It cannot be accomplished in one month or even in two.

Finally, the board will find it wiser even though financial limitations are imposed, to buy a good site rather than to accept as a gift an unsuitable one. It is a grave mistake to locate poorly an important state institution that will eventually be worth hundreds of thousands of dollars because an individual or a community offers as a gift a piece of land worth only a few thousands. The board should select the best piece of property available at the price the state can pay. No other consideration should enter into the decision. Politics and rivalries between local communities should play no part in determining the location of a new state institution.

Reasonable Accessibility

There are several essentials of a proper site for a state training school for girls that should be considered in some detail. The order in which we discuss the points should not be interpreted as showing the relative importance we place on them or necessarily the order in which boards of trustees should consider them. The early juvenile reformatories were generally located in or near large towns or cities. When the growth of the city hampered their work a new site was chosen in the country. The training schools for girls in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Mexico, for example, all of which are now in the open country, were at first established in cities. When the idea of a country situation became generally accepted, the pendulum swung rather far the other way and many schools were located in remote places. The present tendency

seems to be midway between these two extremes—toward a site in the open country, but one that is accessible. The statistical statement below shows the present location of the 57 training schools for girls:

Situation of Schools	Number of Schools
In large towns or cities	7
In small towns	3
At the edge of towns or cities	10
In the open country	37
Total schools	57

For the purpose of this statement we have considered as "large towns or cities" communities having a population of 10,000 or more. The communities with less population are designated as "small towns." Training schools are said to be located "at the edge of towns or cities" when they are just outside of town or city limits; or when part of the land lies within city limits and part without. Schools "in the open country" are situated at various distances from the center of town, but in every case there is open farm land between the edge of town and the institutional property.

As can be seen from the foregoing statistical statement two-thirds (37 of 57) are situated in the open country, while only one-eighth (7 of 57) are within the limits of large towns or cities. It is interesting to note that of these 37, 12 are situated not more than two miles from a town or city; 14, more than two, but not more than five miles; 9, more than five, but not more than 10 miles; and 2, more than 10 miles. Nearly three-fourths of these 37 institutions located in the country, or 26 schools, are not more than five miles from the center of the town or city. In some instances, however, the nearest town to the girls' training school is very small, too small to offer good shopping or recreational facilities for the staff. We consider that two-thirds of the total girls' schools (37 of 57) are reasonably accessible to a railroad or trolley, while one-third (20 of 57) are not. By "accessible" we mean in walking distance on a fairly good road. If the road is easy to travel, a mile is considered walking distance. If it is very poor, the school may not be accessible even if it is less than a mile from a trolley or railroad.

The 57 training schools for girls visited present many contrasts in respect to their locations. The Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls in Milwaukee at the time of our visit was situated within the residential section of the city. Street cars passed directly in front of the school. We found that the girls were not allowed to play on the front lawn here because the spot was too public. Yet this unused space contained practically the only outdoor recreational possibility.

Situated in a very undesirable neighborhood, the Chicago Home for Girls occupies approximately a city block in a closely built-up section of the city. Several questionable houses are near it and trouble has been caused by men calling out to the girls from a nearby building, which borders directly on the yard of the institution.

The Industrial Home for Colored Girls, in Ocala, Florida, which is supported by the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, is located within the city limits and is housed in an old red brick building that was originally the county jail. It can be reached only through a dark alley. There is almost no playground space for the girls. The men who work the county roads have their headquarters next door.

The Illinois State Training School for Girls is within the limits of Geneva, a town of 3,500 population. A railroad track runs along one side of the property, a public highway on another, a trolley is very near, also a river and deep woods. They have provided a night watchman, but the grounds are very large. There has been serious trouble from men from the outside helping girls to run away; they have even put ladders up to the girls' windows. These men promise, of course, to assist the girls, but as soon as escapes have been effected the girls are intimidated by them. The superintendent is greatly concerned over this situation.

As a direct contrast to these institutions, located within the limits of towns or cities, are a number in remote places, far from a railroad or trolley and many miles from a town of any size. The most isolated one visited was the State Industrial School at Fort Grant, Arizona, which cares for both boys and girls. Fort Grant is a very small settlement. The school is 35 miles from Wilcox, which has a population of but 700. The roads between Wilcox and

the school are the worst over which we ever traveled. In response to our question as to the difficulty of keeping workers in an institution so inaccessible, the superintendent stated that most of them "just come and stay till they leave."

The State Training School for Girls in Alabama at the time of our study was about 14 miles from Birmingham and was without fire protection or telephone. There had been much trouble from interlopers, moonshiners, mountain folk, and taxicab drivers. One night while we were at the institution prowlers created some disturbance. The school farmer fired a few stray shots but could not discover the source of the trouble. This school has since been re-located within the city limits of Birmingham.

The Georgia Training School for Girls is in the open country 10 miles from Atlanta. At the time of our study the roads near the school were in very poor condition.

The State Home and Industrial School for Girls and Women in North Carolina is only three miles from Samarcand, but 28 miles from Aberdeen, the nearest town of any size. With no railroad or trolley easily accessible, many staff members disliked the isolation, although the superintendent favored the location.

The Home School for Girls in Minnesota is only one mile from Sauk Center, a town of 3,000 population. This distance makes it possible for workers and girls to walk to town when automobiles are not available, yet there is complete privacy on the huge farm operated by the institution.

In Connecticut, at Long Lane Farm, the school buildings are situated one and one-half miles from the post office of Middletown (25,000 population), but part of the land lies within the city limits. The superintendent believes that this site is satisfactory because of the type of town and its rural surroundings.

Sleighton Farm, the Girls' Department of the Glen Mills Schools at Darlington, is located five miles from Media and a little more than 20 miles from Philadelphia. Trains run frequently between Philadelphia and the Darlington railroad station.[1] A school autobus meets all the important trains. This transportation is free to the staff, the girls, and the many visitors. While having complete privacy the school is not isolated.

[1] The name of the post office is Darling.

The Arkansas Training School for Girls, 17 miles from Little Rock, is accessible because of paved roads in excellent condition. It is only four miles from Alexander, which is its post-office address, and nine miles from Benton, a little settlement with stores, churches, public schools, and so forth. A public autobus line runs to a point within walking distance of the school. Some experts have said that this location, which without being isolated yet provides complete privacy, is the best in the United States for a state industrial school for girls. The superintendent believes that it is ideal.

While the requirements as to site, especially the distance from town and the amount of land needed, will vary in the different states and localities, as a result of our study we are convinced that all state training schools for delinquent girls should be situated in the open country, accessible to a town or city. But the desirable distance from town in one instance does not necessarily indicate what would be desirable in another. The distance should vary according to the character of the immediate neighbors and the nearby community. If the wards and the staff are to have outside community contacts, distance must not make this impossible. Good roads and good transit facilities may make a site 10 miles from town more accessible than one only four miles out, where these are poor. As a general rule, however, we feel that a state training school for girls should be located within four or five miles of a good-sized town, not necessarily a city.

There should be sufficient privacy to permit freedom in outdoor work and play for the girls, and yet enough accessibility to allow close contacts with the neighboring community. The public should know the work of a state training school and should visit it frequently. If the girls are to be prepared for community living, they must not only live under a fairly normal routine while in school, but must have some community contacts during their training. Many institutions situated near a town large enough to provide such service secure the help of outside clinics, hospitals, and so forth. If the personnel of the staff is to be kept contented and composed of high-grade material, its members should be able to reach a good town on their "days off" without too great expenditure of time or money. For their own wholesome develop-

ment they should be accessible to lectures, and should be able to keep in touch with outside happenings. Financially there are advantages in a school's being situated not too far from a town, because of the cost of delivery of fuel and provisions.

While nearby transit facilities are essential, a school need not be placed right beside the tracks of a trolley or railroad. If there is a good road from them to the institution, a walk of a half-mile or even a mile is not prohibitive. The question of good roads can scarcely be overemphasized. As has been indicated, a training school should if possible be situated on a paved or hard surfaced road, well kept by the county or state. If necessary, the school must build its own road to join the nearest public road, and spend sufficient money to keep it in good condition. Good roads should be definitely assured before the site is determined. Some institutions have built where highways were poor in expectation of suitable roads being constructed, for which they are still waiting. The school should have its own automobile available to members of the staff, when it is necessary for them to travel with baggage or when the weather is bad. A few institutions operate a free autobus to and from the railroad station. They believe, and rightly, that the benefits of this service fully justify the expenditures.

Amount of Land

In addition to accessibility, one of the first problems to be considered in the selection of a site for a new institution is the amount of land needed. The following statistical statement shows the amount of land possessed by the 57 training schools for girls visited:

Amount of Land Possessed	Number of Schools
Not more than 5 acres	7
More than 5, not more than 25 acres	7
" " 25, " " " 50 acres	7
" " 50, " " " 100 acres	8
" " 100, " " " 200 acres	16
" " 200, " " " 300 acres	7
" " 300, " " " 500 acres	3
" " 500 acres	2
Total schools	57

This statement shows that approximately one-half of all the schools for girls studied (29 of 57) do not own more than 100 acres; more than one-third (21 of 57) own not more than 50 acres. Only 5 of 57 own more than 300 acres. Perhaps the most interesting deduction from these figures is the fact that about one-fourth of the entire number of institutions (16 of 57 schools) falls in the group which owns more than 100 but not more than 200 acres.

Proportionally more of the very large farms are located in the Southern and Eastern Sections than in the Midwestern and Mountain and Coast Sections. This is contrary to the general belief that institutions in the Middle West possess the largest farms; one-fourth of the training schools in the Eastern Section owned farms containing more than 200 acres; one-third of those in the Southern Section; one-tenth of those in the Midwestern; and one-seventh of those in the Mountain and Coast Section. The Middle West, however, has proportionally the largest number of schools owning between 100 and 200 acres, namely, one-half of the total number of training schools. The Eastern Section, as one would expect, contains proportionally more schools with a small amount of land than does any other section. One-half the training schools in this group own not more than 50 acres.

Among the training schools possessing small farms are the Girls' Farm of Cleveland, Ohio (5 acres); the Delaware Industrial School for Colored Girls, Marshallton (10 acres); El Retiro in Los Angeles County, California (10 acres); the Oaklawn School for Girls, Howard, Rhode Island (29 acres); and the State School for Girls, Hallowell, Maine (38 acres).

In the group possessing farms of 100 to 200 acres are the New York State Training School for Girls, Hudson; Girls' Training School, Gainesville, Texas; Girls' Industrial School, Delaware, Ohio; Training School for Girls, Mitchellville, Iowa; and the California School for Girls, Ventura.

Among the institutions owning the largest farms (more than 300 acres) are the Montrose School for Girls, Woodensburg, Maryland; North Carolina Home and Industrial School for Girls and Women at Samarcand; the South Carolina Industrial School for Girls at Columbia; and the Home School for Girls, Sauk Center, Minnesota. At the time of our visit the last named institution, in addition

to owning 600 acres, rented 1,200, making a total of 1,800 acres. This is the largest farm possessed by any girls' training school in the United States.

In deciding upon the number of acres to be purchased for a new institution, future needs should always be considered. While the present trend, and rightly so, is not toward very large institutions, in most instances there will probably be some expansion of the original capacity. The administrative board should have in mind the maximum number of children for whom the school will eventually provide.

The amount of land needed is dependent, of course, on the use to which it is to be put and on the character of the soil. If a school is to have a dairy and to raise farm crops, of course, more land will be required than for vegetable and flower gardens only. If a school has a dairy it is generally wise to have enough ground to raise feed for the cattle. This necessitates a varying amount of land, dependent upon the character of the soil. On some large farms much of the land is not productive. Every school should have sufficient land to provide good building sites, space for gardens, adequate playgrounds, and privacy. Good vegetable gardens generally assure better food for the institutional population, because almost no budget permits the buying of all the fresh vegetables desired. Moreover, there is great therapeutic value in bringing the girls into contact with the soil, whether in gardening or farming, and in dairy work. Many girls have thus "found themselves."

A large farm where crops are raised is usually not financially profitable in a girls' school, if interest on the investment is included in the charges against the farm department. Many superintendents, however, consider the operation of a farm absolutely essential to the carrying out of their program, especially with unstable, highly emotional girls.

In the course of our study each superintendent was asked to give her views on the following two questions: the desirability of maintaining a dairy; and the needed acreage per child, considering need for building space, playgrounds, general farming, gardening, horticulture, and dairying. The majority of the answers express approval of a farm where the girls may do some outdoor work. Most superintendents want to have their own dairy and vegetable

gardens; some greatly favor extensive farming, in which the girls participate. The amount of land advocated varied according to the location of the school and the individual ideas of different superintendents; but in general from one to two acres per girl in care was considered a desirable size for an institution farm.

The range of opinions expressed by different superintendents may be shown by a few illustrations. Dr. Carrie Weaver Smith, who was superintendent of the Girls' Training School, Gainesville, Texas, when that institution was visited, stated that she was "opposed to much farm work for girls." She would make no effort even to raise winter vegetables. She did not, accordingly, favor a large farm, although she did approve a dairy. Mrs. Fannie French Morse, superintendent of the Home School for Girls, at Sauk Center, Minnesota, at the time of our study of that institution, thought that this school could "handle a few hundred additional acres." The Minnesota school was already operating a farm containing approximately five acres per girl in care. Miss Agnes MacNaughton, superintendent of Samarcand Manor, Samarcand, North Carolina, greatly approves some farm work for delinquent girls. She considers that the present acreage at Samarcand (approximately one and one-half acres per girl) is sufficient for the school. Mrs. Clara Patterson, superintendent of the Oregon State Industrial School for Girls, feels that one acre for each girl is adequate for her purposes. She would emphasize dairying, fruit raising, gardening, and poultry raising.

Character of Soil

Another important consideration in selecting a site for any country institution, the character of the soil, may be shown for the 57 girls' schools as follows:

Character of Soil	Number of Schools
Good land for gardens or farming	21
Fairly fertile land	15
Poor land	19
No land for farming or gardening	2
Total schools	57

It is seen that the land of one-third of these girls' training schools is "poor" for farming and gardening, the reason in some instances being that it was given by a community or railroad or was purchased for a very small sum of money. In other instances, no land in the immediate vicinity is fertile, and perhaps no better site could have been selected.

Schools owning good or satisfactory land are the Montrose School for Girls, Woodensburg, Maryland; Florida Industrial School for Girls at Ocala; Nebraska Industrial Home at Milford; and Vocational School for Girls, Helena, Montana.

Land is unsatisfactory or poor at the State School for Girls, Hallowell, Maine (worn-out soil and poor drainage because of ledges); the South Carolina Industrial School for Girls at Columbia (poor clay soil and rocky land); the Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls at Peaks Turnout (soil not fertile); and the State Industrial School for Girls, Tecumseh, Oklahoma (soil composed both of sand and hard clay). Every training school for girls should have soil suitable for raising vegetables, small fruits, and for floriculture. If a real farm is desired, of course the soil should be suitable for raising farm crops.

From the standpoint of training, the best methods of raising vegetables, fruits, or flowers cannot be taught on poor land. This whole question, however, is a more vital one for a boys' than for a girls' school. Many training schools for boys teach agriculture as a vocation; while for a large majority of girls the chief value of farm work is therapeutic.

Attractiveness of Site

While the practical matters already discussed need careful attention, we must not overlook the question of the attractiveness of the proposed site. No one is in greater need of beautiful surroundings than these delinquent girls, to most of whom the finer things of life have not been given. It is a well-known fact that beautiful surroundings affect one's outlook on life and often bear a direct relationship to conduct. Appreciation of a lovely landscape, though it may never be expressed in any tangible manner, contributes to spiritual growth. A number of the schools for girls

especially impress one with the peace and calm of the landscape, while at others, the majesty of mountain views or the vast expanse of wooded hills is an inspiration.

From the school at Sauk Center, Minnesota, one sees miles of flat farm land with its waving grain, but on the campus are also a beautiful lake and considerable wooded land. Samarcand Manor, North Carolina, also possesses a lake within its grounds. This site is especially noteworthy because of its fragrant pine woods. The schools in Montana and Colorado have unusually fine views. From the windows the pupils catch glimpses of the mountain peaks. The Girls' Industrial School at Delaware, Ohio, has one of the most beautiful campuses we have found in institutions of this type. The buildings are well placed and the grounds would do credit to an exclusive boarding school or college. The Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster, Massachusetts, is blessed with old elms, shaded walks, and rolling green turf. Some superintendents believe that woods and lakes are not necessarily assets, and we grant that the question is a debatable one, but we found that most of those in charge of these schools realize the importance of attractive surroundings.

Proper Building Sites

A piece of land may rate high in respect to all the qualifications above outlined—accessibility, acreage, character of soil, and attractiveness—yet not be suitable for the purpose because of the lack of proper building sites. A good building site is important on the score of health, attractiveness of the property, lessening the work of the institution and making possible proper classifications.

Moreover, it is important to choose a situation where expensive excavations can be avoided, and the character of the soil is here again a factor. If there is a substratum of rock, excavation will be costly both for foundations of buildings and for tunnels to contain pipes for gas, water and heating. On the other hand, very sandy soil, where firm foundations are difficult to secure without considerable expense, is likewise undesirable. In many cases it would be worth while to spend money in trial drillings to determine these points before purchasing. Buildings should not be erected

on land too low, especially if the surrounding ground slopes toward it, nor should they be on the sides or tops of hills which necessitate the climbing of many steps by both officers and girls. Such a situation makes the work of an institution more difficult. The conspicuousness of such a site, too, is often undesirable. There should, however, be sufficient elevation to provide a good setting for the institution, yet with enough comparatively level space for all the needed buildings. These should be so placed as to provide a maximum amount of sunlight in living and playrooms.

We have attempted to classify below the building sites as we found them in these 57 schools for girls visited. Each school was considered as a unit and rated according to the sites occupied by the majority of its buildings.

Quality of Building Sites	Number of Schools
Good	29
Fair	15
Unsatisfactory	13
Total schools	57

It is seen that in approximately one-fourth of the institutions the building sites are unsatisfactory; in the other three-fourths they are fair or good. To be rated "good," the situation should have in large measure the qualifications previously mentioned.

In establishing a new institution, plans should be mapped out in advance for the placement of all buildings which will probably be erected in the years to come. Early ones should be placed where they will not obstruct the views of later structures. After a hospital has been erected, for instance, it may be discovered that it occupies the ideal spot for the administration building, or that the position chosen for a cottage will prevent putting the schoolhouse in the most convenient place.

Among the institutions having good building sites are the Indiana Girls' School at Clermont; the New York State Training School for Girls at Hudson; the Virginia Home and Industrial School for Girls at Bon Air; and the Colorado State Industrial School for Girls at Mount Morrison.

Elevation and Drainage

At the Tennessee Vocational School for Girls, where the land was a gift to the state from a railroad running nearby, the cottages are placed in the hollow of a bowl, with land sloping toward each building. When one follows the sidewalk (connecting all the buildings) to the schoolhouse, a blank wall with neither window nor door lies at the end of the path. One then leaves the sidewalk and walks around to the diametrically opposite end of the building to enter. Even at Sleighton Farm, where the services of experts were secured in planning the buildings and grounds, the land slopes toward the cottages rather than away from them. The new home of the State Training School for Girls in Alabama, which was under construction at Birmingham at the time of our visit, is a good example of how not to locate an institution. Some of the buildings are within a stone's throw of a much used public highway and the cottages are on very low land. The hospital is close to the highway, and it was planned to build the chapel in the rear of the grounds where this hospital should have been erected. In the state schools for girls in California and West Virginia the buildings are located on the sides or tops of small hills, which increases the work of the institution.

The problems of drainage are closely allied to questions of proper building sites. As already stated, for reasons of health, the land should slope away from and not toward the buildings. We found a few schools with standing water in the cellars or with damp basements. Some buildings situated in pockets of land had standing water or damp earth near them. The question of standing water is important, not only from the point of view of health but also from that of farming. If the slope of the land and the type of soil are conducive to standing water, artificial drainage may be necessary. In one southern institution (Harris County School for Girls, Bellaire, Texas), we were told that much of the land is under water a considerable part of the year. When we made our visit the garden had just been planted for the third time that year, the seeds having been twice washed out of the ground.

Water Supply

All city and suburban institutions should, of course, be connected with city sewers. Methods of sewage disposal in country institutions can be decided only by experts. In some instances, sewage may be disposed of in streams, but a sanitary engineer should determine whether the stream is of the proper size and whether other conditions make it possible to use it without creating a public nuisance. A sewage disposal plant may be necessary and can be perfectly sanitary if properly installed. The questions of drainage and sanitation are of special importance and it should be known how these are to be met before the site is determined upon.

An abundant supply of pure water is absolutely essential. It is probably the most important single factor in deciding upon the location for an institution. No site should be considered seriously where it is very difficult to secure plenty of pure water. If the school is near enough to a town which has a good water supply, the city system may properly be used. It should be ascertained, however, whether the added demand may cripple the public supply, also whether the city water is frequently analyzed by experts. If a private source is needed, the exact method of securing it can be determined only by an expert. Several schools have been established where later the water was found to be impure or insufficient. A private supply should be safeguarded by frequent analyses.

At the time of our visit the Georgia Training School for Girls near Atlanta was drilling for the third time in the effort to secure an artesian well. In the meantime the supply had been condemned and all drinking water was being boiled. The Girls' Rescue Home (at Mt. Meigs, Alabama, a privately owned institution for colored girls) had no water supply of its own. All water was brought from a neighbor's well and the clothes were carried to this neighbor's to be washed. Conditions so intolerable can by careful preliminary study be avoided. Some of the schools visited have fine springs, as, for instance, the Girls' Industrial School in Delaware, Ohio. A health resort was formerly situated here and its sulphur springs were famous.

In selecting a site for a new institution there would probably be difficulty in finding one which would meet perfectly all the

requirements here laid down. It is important, however, to bear in mind all of the factors noted and to decide upon that place which rates highest in all these respects; namely, reasonable accessibility, amount of land, character of the soil, attractiveness of location, proper sites for buildings, elevation and drainage, and water supply. It should be borne in mind that the decision of the board selecting the site is likely to affect the work of the institution for many years to come. While a poorly located school may do good work that same school would probably do much better work if it were well located.

CHAPTER VI

BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT

MUCH of what has been said regarding the choice of a site applies equally to the planning of buildings. After the purposes of the institution have been definitely outlined, together with the types of children to be received and methods to be used, and an estimate made of the probable number of children to be cared for in the early history of the school and the ultimate capacity desired, the administrative board and the superintendent may then turn their thoughts to the physical plant and its location. Institutional buildings should be regarded as means to an end, not an end in themselves. Just as it was considered undesirable for a temporary commission to select the site for an institution, decisions regarding buildings should be made by the permanent board, not by a temporary group.

In practice, the erection of buildings follows the selection of a site, hence the sequence of our chapters on these subjects. The determination of the general building plans, however, should precede a final decision regarding location. Only after the type and size of buildings have been decided upon and the desirable form of future growth determined is the board in a position to decide finally upon a site. As we have suggested, the location should meet the needs of the particular institution and permit the kind of growth desired—whether a series of small institutional communities or scattered farm centers, for example.

Approximately $11,500,000 is invested in the property of 55[1] institutions for delinquent girls included in our study. The value of buildings and equipment constitutes almost $9,500,000 of this sum. The remainder covers the amount invested in land and endowment. When so large a sum of money is involved, there should, of course, be careful study and planning in order that it be expended wisely.

[1] Two training schools for girls occupy rented houses and own no property.

While questions of physical plant constitute an important institutional problem, it is not the most important, because high-grade work can be done, and is being done, without expensive or good buildings, and without specialized equipment.

A number of training schools for girls started very simply in buildings not meant for the purpose. Several were built around old farmhouses, and a few utilized what had been country estates. At Sleighton Farm, Pennsylvania, and at Bon Air, Virginia, the nucleus of the institution is an attractive old colonial farmhouse, which in each case has had a definite influence upon the life of the school. The Montrose School for Girls in Maryland occupies the estate formerly owned by the Bonaparte family. The old historic mansion is the present administration building. Samarcand Manor, North Carolina, was opened in an old manor house formerly used as a private school for boys. The simple physical equipment has aided the superintendent in keeping the atmosphere that of a private outdoor school or camp. Near San Antonio, Texas, a small county school was opened in an attractive structure, formerly an automobile club house. The buildings that constitute the county training school near Los Angeles, California (El Retiro), have been adapted from a sanatorium for convalescing tuberculous patients. Besides several bungalows, about a score of small screened-in "sleeping porch cottages" are scattered over the grounds.

Training schools for girls operating in buildings erected for other purposes or in poor buildings with meager equipment have secured commendable results, but it is safe to say that good work has been achieved in spite of and not because of the lack of suitable buildings and equipment. In states where pioneer institutions are carrying on with inadequate means, we wish to commend the workers, but not in every instance the state which permits and makes necessary such a situation. When a girl is removed from her home and committed to a state training school, the state undertakes the obligation for her care and training.

In South Carolina a small struggling school for colored girls, which the state had not yet seen fit to adopt, at the time of our visit was occupying two poor frame buildings and living in a hand-to-mouth fashion on donations from interested people. When it rained, the girls put basins and tubs in the dormitories to catch the

water and even then beds were often soaked. Oil lamps were the only means of artificial light. One cottage had no heating provisions; in the other were a couple of stoves. All water for drinking, bathing, and laundry work was carried by the girls from an outdoor well. There was no plumbing; the two outside toilets had been built by the girls from lumber which the superintendent had "begged from five different people." To make a schoolroom the iron beds in the largest dormitory were pushed against the wall, and during the academic sessions the girls sat around tables in the center of the room. When meal-time came these tables were carried into the kitchen, where the girls ate. There were not sufficient chairs, so some sat on boxes and others on planks laid between two chairs. Yet with almost no equipment, two trained workers were securing some worthwhile results.

A number of the older schools have large institutional buildings that are out of keeping with the progressive spirit of the present workers. At Long Lane Farm, Connecticut, some old buildings were found in poor repair, because the superintendent was unwilling to spend any more money on structures which she hoped in time could be abandoned and replaced by small modern cottages. A number of institutions, though handicapped by buildings with every appearance of institutionalism and repression, have developed an unusually fine spirit among the girls, who enjoy great freedom and many opportunities for self-expression.

Comprehensive Plan

There are several points which the administrative board and the superintendent will need to remember in connection with the building program. First, a completed plan of all the buildings to be erected immediately, as well as those planned for the future, should be drawn up with the aid of experts before building operations actually begin. A number of people have already opened offices to give professional advice on the organization and building of hospitals and institutions for children. Unless there is a state architect, whose task it is to supervise the building programs of all state institutions, the board, before any important decisions have been made, should select a conscientious architect, who has a reputation for good work and honesty, and, if possible, with pre-

vious experience in institutional planning. His estimate should be somewhere near the actual cost of the building and the amount at the disposal of the institution. The architect should be selected on his merits only, and he should know how to achieve what the board and superintendent want. He, with the administrative board (or a special building committee of that board), and the superintendent should together visit other institutions having similar functions to the one proposed. It is especially vital that the architect accompany the board and the superintendent on such visits in order to reproduce good points observed as well as to avoid undesirable ones.

Building Plans Based on Use

The plans of all institutional buildings should, of course, be based on the work to be done in them. The fundamental purpose of the institution should never be lost sight of. The object should be, not to erect fine-looking buildings, but to provide means to further the work of that particular school. In actual practice, however, we have found this fundamental and obvious principle often overlooked. At a meeting of the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies in 1922, Burdette G. Lewis, commissioner of the Department of Institutions and Agencies of New Jersey, told of the preparatory work done by that department before any building plans for a state institution in New Jersey are decided upon, and the reason why these preliminary steps are essential.

We want to present to the Legislature of our State a plan of a completed institution before we ask them for a detailed appropriation. We want not only to have a picture of the building, but we want to have a description of the institution itself, not only the equipment which is to be in the institution, but a description of exactly how many men are going to be in this institution, what groups they are to be divided into, and what their activities are to be every day; and how many there are that are going to be in the industrial department, how many in the agricultural department, how many are to be in the vocational school, and how many are to be in the book school. In other words, we are not going to ask New Jersey to spend any money which we would not ask if we were going to build a plant for the United States Steel Corporation and were called upon to get the money from the Board of Directors. I know and you know, if you

were going to build a steel plant, that you would not be able to get away with the ordinary public building project. . . . In other words, when the Crucible Steel Company built their Newark plant, . . . they laid out the plant on the ground. They laid out their materials, and they placed the machines around which materials would move, without any waste, just as they do at the Ford Plant here [Detroit]. Then they determined how many men they would have to have in one section of the plant, and in another section, and only at that point did they begin to discuss what kind of a building, what kind of an exterior would they have to house what they were going to work with all of the time. . . .

Now, in our planning of a new reformatory, we have a great deal to do. We have a group committee consisting of the superintendent of the reformatory, Dr. Moore, the head of the Division of Education and Classification who is helping develop vocational training in our institutions, and we have the director of the Division of Labor and Industry. . . . We have the help of various persons who are specialists in design. Then, we have the director of the New Jersey Division of Architecture and Construction. . . . Mr. Alan B. Mills [director of Institutional Building of New Jersey] . . . has put on paper a plan . . . which describes the building of the community institution, drawing together these various ideas.[1]

The plan which Mr. Mills submitted to this conference was for the building of a community reformatory institution for men, but the preliminary steps were largely the same as would have been taken if the problem had been erection of a state training school for girls. We agree most emphatically with Mr. Lewis that the plans of all buildings should be based on the use to which they are to be put.

In some states the state architects have considerable power. In a few instances they have planned and caused to be erected buildings and even entire institutions for delinquent girls, without giving adequate consideration to the ideas and wishes of those who know best the type of work to be done in them. We have already advocated that a competent superintendent should be selected before building plans are decided upon and that the architect should consult with her. She will know what is needed and he how to plan for these needs. Two state schools for white girls

[1] Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Session of the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies. 1922, pp. 54–56.

studied stand out as examples of poor planning by architects or boards of control, who gave little heed to the ideas of the superintendent.

We learned of one case where the state architect had shown the first plan of the new buildings to the administrative board and to the superintendent, who made suggestions for revision, but neither the board nor the superintendent had seen the final plans. The buildings were actually under construction before the superintendent was aware of the later drafts. She had been compelled to make many changes in the buildings after they were completed. For example, there was no flue in the central bakery; the cold storage department was housed in the same building as the bakery, with only a brick wall between; there was no patient's bathroom in the hospital and there was only one toilet in the entire hospital building. Since no lockers or closets for the girls' clothing had been provided in the cottages, the superintendent found it necessary to use the food pantries for this purpose. All these errors could easily have been avoided had the superintendent been consulted at each stage in the planning. As a matter of fact, the one-story red brick cottages of the school, with their flat roofs, look not unlike box cars.

At the time of our study another state was building an entirely new home within the city limits of its largest center for its training school for delinquent girls. In moving this institution to a new site and in erecting new buildings, it should have been possible to benefit from the experience of other states and to erect model structures in so far as the appropriation permitted. Several cottages, a hospital, and a schoolhouse had already been built, which we studied, although they were not then occupied. They were attractive from the outside, but in many respects not convenient nor suitable for the kind of work that was to be done in them. Any institutional worker would have seen many details needing to be changed. We were told that the State Board of Control and the architect had made the plans with very little consideration of the views of the superintendent. The original plan called for a laundry on the floor of each cottage above the kitchen, to be supervised by the kitchen matron. Constant running up and down stairs by this worker was undesirable in itself and would make it impossible

for her to supervise adequately the girls working in these two places. In the original plans very few rooms for cottage officers had been provided, and later girls' rooms had been taken for this purpose. When the buildings were nearing completion, it was learned also that there were no rooms for the teaching staff. The superintendent was planning to take a schoolroom in the school building as a dormitory for teachers. These makeshift plans in a new institution could all have been avoided if those who knew intimately the details of the work and the architects, who were in the best position to draw plans embodying these ideas, had worked closely together; and if the idea foremost in the minds of all had been the use to which the buildings were to be placed.

Simple Buildings

Another major point should be remembered by the board, the superintendent, and the architect, namely, that experience has shown that simple buildings for institutions are the most desirable. Some reasons given are:

1. If institutional buildings are planned according to the work to be done in them, changes will be needed from time to time, due to the development of new ideas and methods. If buildings are not too costly it will be more feasible to make these changes. The expense of discontinuing entirely the use of an antiquated building, or of tearing it down and replacing it, will not be prohibitive if only a modest amount of money has been spent on it.

2. Large sums of money spent in permanent ornamental buildings sometimes leave little to provide the trained personnel for the specialized work needed. It is wiser to spend less for buildings and more for service, since the success of the work depends primarily on the calibre of the people who try to do it.

3. Several superintendents expressed the desire that their institution should not be developed as a "monument to an architect" nor as a "monument to delinquency." These progressive leaders want their buildings to be a series of homes. If the aim is to have the life in the institution approximate that in an outside community, its physical aspects should resemble the residential part of a community. The cottages should be as nearly as possible like the houses in which the girls may live after they leave the institution.

Industrial School for Girls, Lancaster, Massachusetts

Bexar County School for Girls, San Antonio, Texas

EXAMPLES OF TRAINING SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE

Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut

Minnesota Home School for Girls, Sauk Center

EXAMPLES OF TRAINING SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE

These will create an atmosphere more homelike and personal than is generally obtained with old-fashioned, large, institutional buildings.

4. The buildings of a modern training school for girls should be of a type and plan that will not require a great deal of hard labor to keep them in good condition. While housework constitutes one of the forms of training, there is little vocational content in a girl's repeating over and over certain processes, such as scrubbing floors. Huge waste spaces that must be kept clean should be avoided. Not even in inexpensive, simple buildings should cheap materials be used for certain parts of the buildings; those parts which receive the hardest wear, as the floors, for example, should be of the best.

5. Simple buildings generally mean less institutionalism and repression and promote elasticity of method and treatment, as well as more spontaneous activity. When simple cottages replace formidable buildings, the need of the individual girl is more often placed ahead of the manual work necessary to keep the institution functioning.

With a few exceptions the best work for delinquent girls is now being done in training schools that have simple buildings. These take the lead in intensive study of the individual girl, in an intelligent application of a well-thought-out program for her, and in her careful readjustment to community living. One superintendent has gone so far as to say that she does not wish her girls to do any work which is not "educational." She feels that the chief purpose of the institution should always be kept in the foreground, and that institutional plants should be of the type to facilitate the working out of this ideal.

Degree of Centralization

In planning an institutional community, one of the first matters to be decided is the degree of centralization desired. Before drawing his plans the architect must know whether the institution is to be built on a cottage or congregate system, or a combination of the two. The earliest so-called "reform schools" or houses of refuge in the United States were built on the congregate plan. As we have noted before, these cared for boys and girls together, or for boys alone. The schools for girls, as a group, are newer than

those for boys, and hence it is natural that the former should be an expression of modern ideas. The very first separate training school for girls in the United States[1] was built on the cottage plan, with each unit caring for only 30 or 40 girls. Until recently comparatively few institutions for boys were on the cottage plan. This is due partly to the fact that the boys' schools are older than the girls', but also to the belief that domestic training is an important element in the education of all girls, and that it can best be accomplished for delinquent girls in small units. The cottage system for girls is therefore universally accepted as the ideal form.

It is no more expensive to build a cottage plant than a congregate plant, nor to administer it, if provision is made in each for the same grade of individualized, intensive work. The latest trend is toward exterior diversity, though floor plans may be similar. The institutional community therefore becomes like an outside neighborhood in appearance, except that usually an effort is made to have the whole effect harmonious.

In the matter of centralization or decentralization, the pendulum in this country has swung between opposite extremes. Girls' training schools which at first opened in city congregate plants, in their new country cottage homes often adopted the idea not only of a separate living room, dining room and kitchen, but a separate laundry, bakery, and furnace for each unit. In one school we found a separate electric lighting plant in the basement of each cottage; a system, however, shortly to be abandoned. Recently, the pendulum seems to be swinging back a little toward partial centralization. In many schools where central steam laundries performed the heaviest work, we found hand laundries in the cottages for purposes of instruction. Many cottage institutions have central heating plants, and a few have central bakeries for bread. A very few had central dining rooms for the entire population, but none of the girls' schools at the time of our visit transported food to the cottage from a central kitchen, a rather common system in the cottage plants of the boys' schools.

The present trend is toward small cottages, each with living and playrooms, dining room, kitchen, sleeping rooms, and bathrooms, but with a centralized heating system and steam laundry.

[1] The Industrial School for Girls, Lancaster, Massachusetts.

Six-sevenths of these girls' schools (49 of 57) have the cottage system; of the remainder, four have a combination of cottage and congregate systems; while the other four, only one-fourteenth of the whole, have a strictly congregate system. The types of institutional plant for these 57 schools can be seen from the following statistical statement:

Type of Institutional Plant	Section of United States				
	Eastern	Southern	Midwestern	Mountain and Coast	All Sections
	Number of Schools				
Cottage[a]	10	18	14	7	49
Congregate	1	..	3	..	4
With combined systems	1	..	3	..	4
Total schools	12	18	20	7	57

[a] In some of the girls' schools, which we have classified as having the cottage system, one or two units are larger than they should be, and in a few cases some of the cottages are not complete domestic units.

With two exceptions, all of the superintendents of girls' schools expressed strong preferences for the cottage system, but their views differ as to the degree of decentralization desired.

Mrs. Fannie French Morse, superintendent of the New York State Training School for Girls at Hudson, wishes each cottage to have a complete life of its own. She states:

> The girl coming into the institution is . . . often a resultant of the disintegration of the home. . . . In her training in the institution, nothing is more important than to supply to this girl this lack of home sense and home standards. . . . Every movement toward centralization threatens disintegration of the institution family, and a consequent breaking down of the training to home standards. . . . On the other hand, complete independence of cottage units intensifies and unifies the family sense. . . . It is a very growing thing for the girl to feel that upon her efforts in the kitchen and in other parts of the house, depends much of the comfort of the family. . . . In every way, individual responsibility and consequent individual growth is best developed in the independent cottage system.

Miss Caroline de F. Penniman, superintendent of Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut, approves a central heating plant and a

central laundry, though she adds she would have some hand laundries in the cottages. She would reduce to a minimum work which is not vocational and would eliminate drudgery.

Mrs. Lucy Ball, superintendent of the State Training School for Girls, Geneva, Illinois, says: "I approve of cottages with their own dining rooms, kitchens, and small hand laundries. I favor centralization of heat, power, steam laundry (for some of the work), and a small central bakery for bread."

Many superintendents object to decentralization of laundries, furnaces, and so forth, because of the waste of time in having the girls repeat heavy work with no vocational or educational content. A girl's sojourn in the institution is all too short for the many vital things she must learn. These superintendents also raised the question of patterning the mode of living in the institution on the outside community, where many families live in apartments without individual heating systems and buy their bread at a central bakery.

We favor without qualification the cottage system as the only type of institutional plant to be considered in building a new training school, but the degree of centralization will depend on many factors. If there are to be only two or three units, for example, a central steam laundry will probably not be feasible. In a large training school we favor a central heating plant and a central steam laundry, with hand laundries in some of the cottages. The latter provide adequate means of training in the kind of washing and ironing the girls will need to do in domestic service or in their own homes, while the steam laundry facilitates the work of the institution and leaves pupils more time for other things. A central bakery, in our opinion, is debatable and depends on the type of training to be emphasized. If every girl is to learn how to bake bread, some of it should be baked in the cottages. In very large institutions some baking can be done in the cottages in addition to the larger quantities done in a central bakery.

Size of Cottages

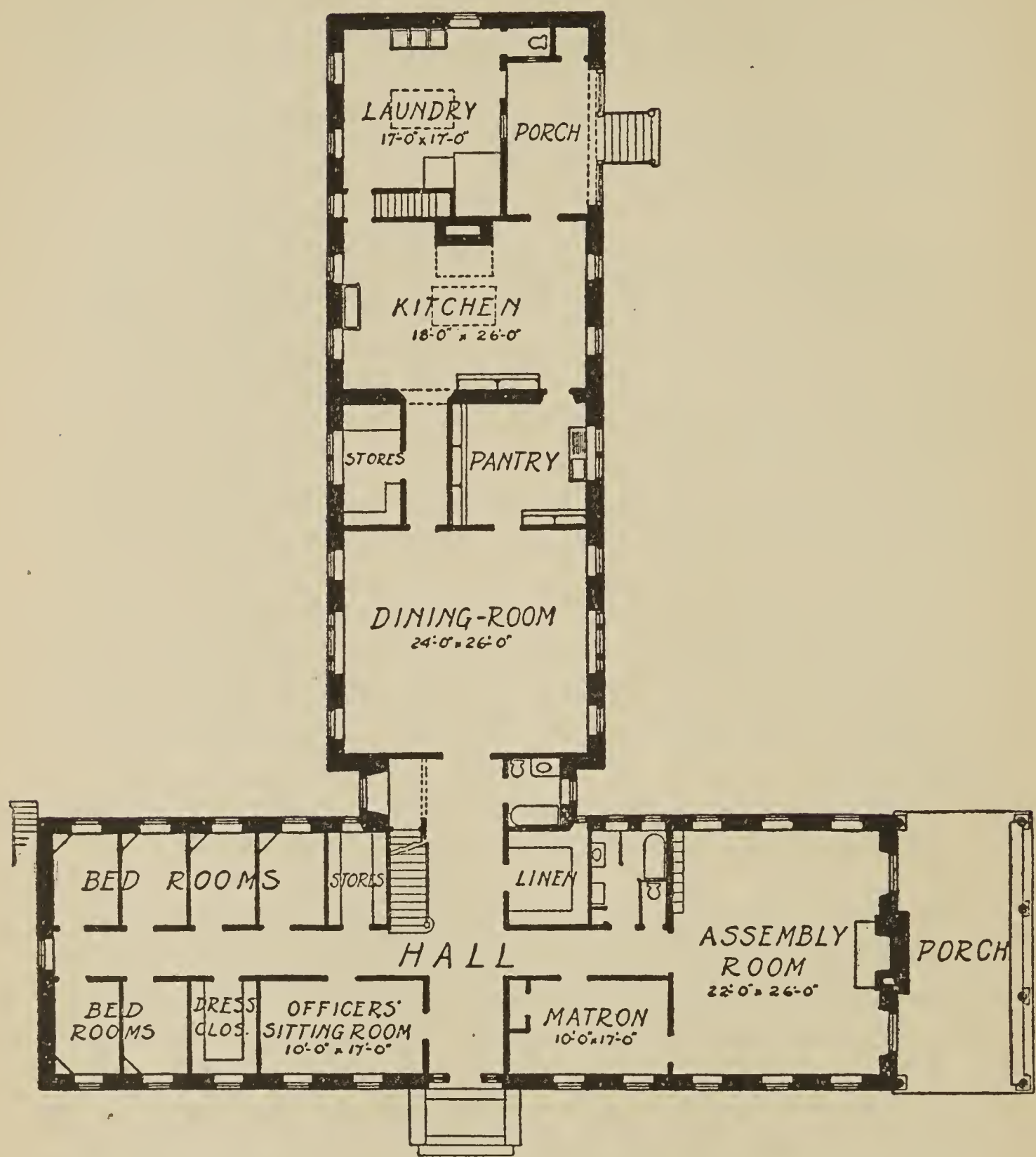
The first training school for girls erected cottages caring for 30 or 40 pupils each. Unfortunately, in some of the later institutions for girls the unit was not so small. However, many now have

erected cottages caring for 25 and some for 20, while a few schools have cottages planned for not more than 10 girls each. Thus we find a definite trend among these schools toward small cottage families.

The following statistics regarding the sizes of the cottages in the 57 institutions visited are of interest:

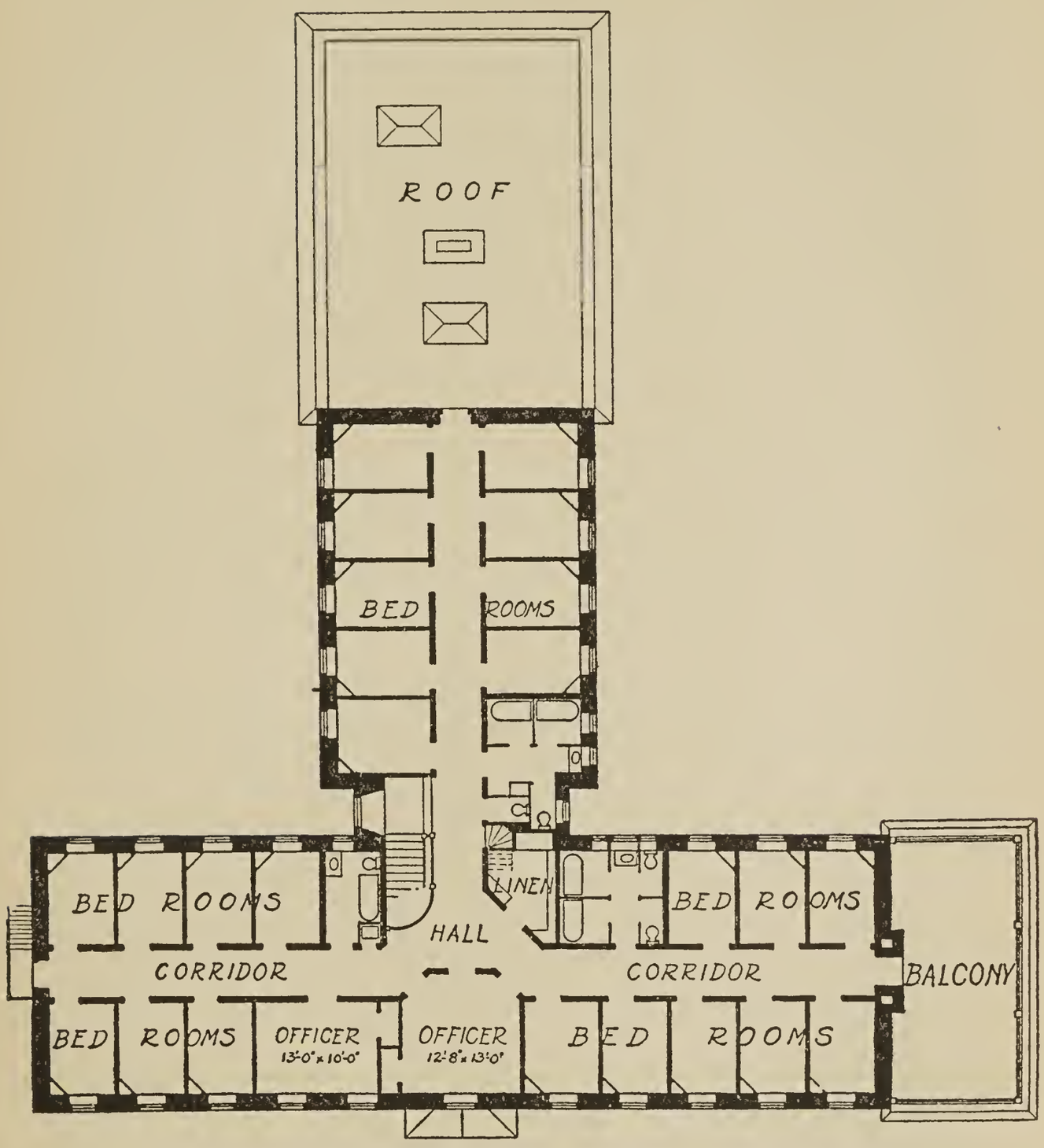
Size of Majority of Cottages	Section of United States				
	Eastern	Southern	Midwestern	Mountain and Coast	All Sections
	Number of Schools				
Not more than 10	1	2	..	2	5
More than 10, not more than 20	2	3	1	..	6
More than 20, not more than 30	2	4	5	2	13
More than 30, not more than 40	4	4	6	3	17
More than 40, not more than 50	1	3	2	..	6
More than 50, not more than 60	..	2	..	..	2
More than 60	2	..	6	..	8
Total schools	12	18	20	7	57

From this statement it is seen that nearly one-third of these schools (17 of 57) have plants where the majority of cottages care for more than 30, but not more than 40 girls each; and in more than one-fifth (13 of 57) the majority of the cottages care for more than 20 and not more than 30 girls each. Thus, over one-half of the total number have units caring for 20 to 40 girls each; while about one-tenth have units caring for not more than 10 girls each, and another tenth have units caring for not more than 10 to 20 each. These figures, however, are misleading. They do not mean that one-fifth of these 57 schools have extensive plants with many units caring for as few as 10 or 15 girls, because among the institutions having these smallest units are many new schools with very small total populations. These same schools later may have a larger



GIRLS' DEPARTMENT OF THE GLEN MILLS SCHOOLS (SLEIGHTON FARM)
DARLINGTON, PENNSYLVANIA
COTTAGE—FIRST FLOOR PLAN

The first floor provides assembly room, dining room, kitchen, pantries, laundry, linen room, officers' sitting room, matron's room, and six single rooms for girls.



Girls' Department of the Glen Mills Schools (Sleighton Farm), Darlington, Pennsylvania
Cottage—Second Floor Plan

The second floor provides officers' rooms, linen room, and 23 single rooms for girls, making accommodations for 29 girls in the cottage.

number of girls in their present cottages. For example, the new school near Albuquerque, New Mexico, had a total population of only seven girls at the time of our visit, though it could comfortably care for a larger number. In this group of small units are also included several small semi-public or private institutions for colored girls, most of whom are not housed in cottages built for the purpose.

There is increasing interest, especially in the South, in one-story structures, not too permanent, caring for a group no larger than is sometimes found in a private family. It is felt that such a plan provides a more homelike atmosphere and one where the needs of the individual girl can be better met. If the cottage has but one story it need not be fireproof nor of expensive material. With most country institutions the value of the land on which these cottages are located is not an important factor, and several of these inexpensive units will not cost so much to build as one permanent large cottage, which must necessarily be of fireproof or semi-fireproof material. It is also felt that supervision is easier in a one-story cottage and that the rooms may be arranged to better advantage.

Included in the schools where the majority of cottages care for more than 20, but not more than 30 girls each, are the New York State Training School for Girls at Hudson; the South Carolina Industrial School for Girls at Columbia; the State Training School for Girls, Geneva, Illinois; the Home School for Girls, Sauk Center, Minnesota; the Colorado State Industrial School for Girls at Mount Morrison; and the California School for Girls at Ventura.

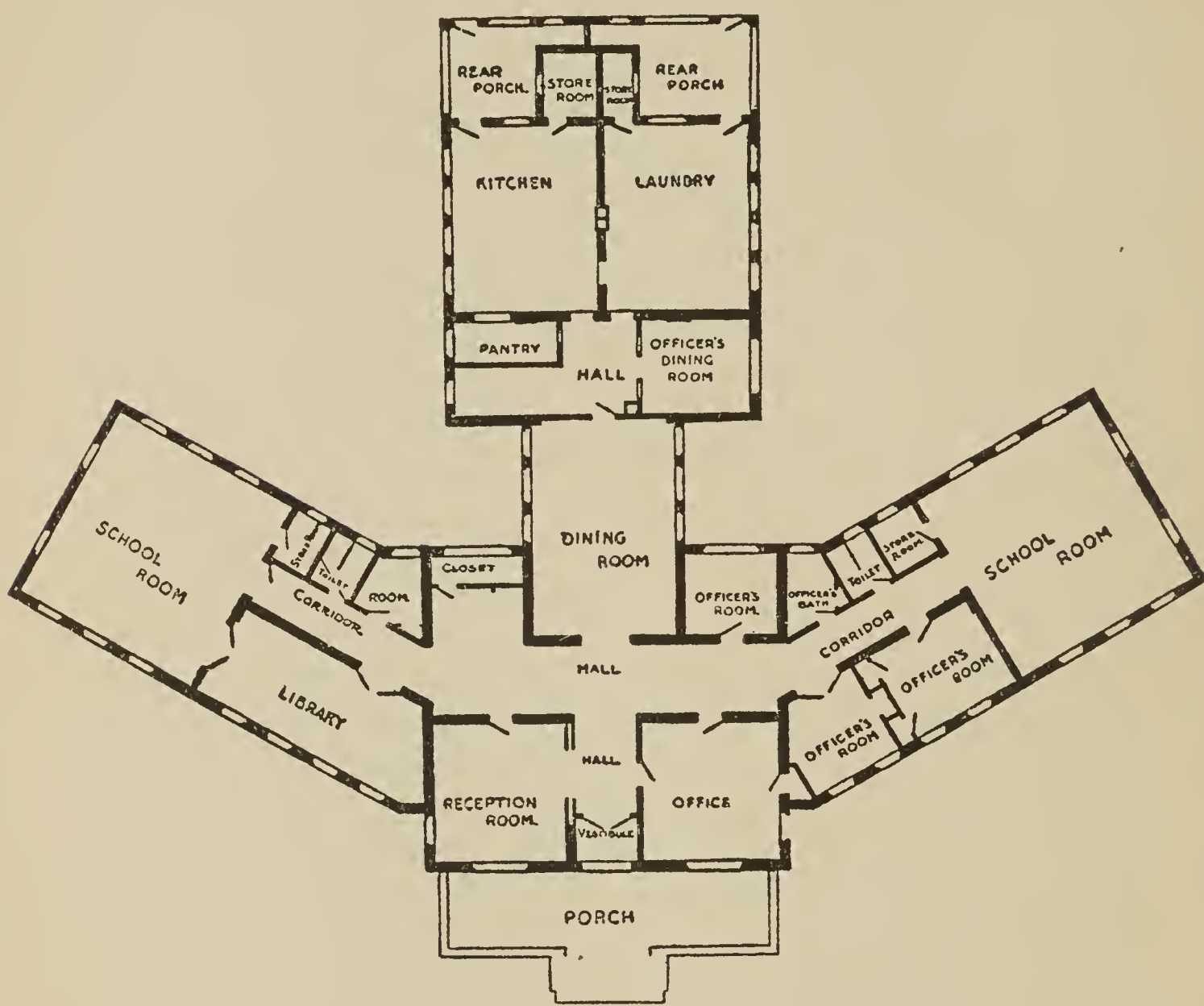
Among the schools where the majority of cottages provide for more than 30, but not more than 40 girls each, are the State School for Girls, Hallowell, Maine; Samarcand Manor, Samarcand, North Carolina; the Florida Industrial School for Girls at Ocala; the Training School for Girls, Mitchellville, Iowa; the State Industrial Home for Girls, Adrian, Michigan; the State School for Girls, Grand Mound, Washington; and the Oregon State Industrial School for Girls at Salem.

Among the schools having the largest units are: the Industrial Home for Colored Girls, Melvale, Maryland; the State Industrial Home for Girls, Chillicothe, Missouri; the Girls' Industrial School, Geneva, Nebraska; and the Chicago Home for Girls, Illinois.

In expressing their personal views on the desirable size of cottages for girls in state training schools, very few superintendents favored large units. The majority felt that from 25 to 30 girls was a feasible number. Many believed for practical reasons that it would not be possible in their institutions to develop a large number of units with a smaller population than 20 girls. Among those favoring cottages for 20 girls each are the superintendents of the Montrose School for Girls, Woodensburg, Maryland; State Industrial Home for Girls, Adrian, Michigan; and the Girls' Industrial School, Geneva, Nebraska. Dr. Kenosha Sessions, superintendent of the Indiana Girls' School, said that she would like to experiment with some cottages with a capacity of 12 girls only, but felt that she could not ask the state to operate the entire institution on this scale because of the expense. She believes that in an institution having a number of units for 12 girls each, additional cottages for 30 girls each would still be wanted. The few superintendents who favored larger units stated that it was necessary to have a group of at least 40 girls to "carry on the cottage work, the work of the various departments, and the school." The majority, however, would not agree with this opinion and would favor smaller cottages. Superintendent Blanche Martin of the Arkansas Training School for Girls approved very small units. At the time of our visit she was planning to build a number of cottages for 10 girls each, with one officer in each cottage. Miss Caroline Penniman, superintendent of Long Lane Farm, Connecticut, expressed herself strongly in favor of cottages caring for not more than 10 or 15 girls each. She considers that with adequate provisions for relief one cottage officer could handle such a group.

As a result of our study, the writer is convinced that small cottages are very valuable aids to a constructive, scientific program. The smaller the cottage the more nearly the life of the institutional unit will approximate that of the ordinary family, and the easier it is to provide intensive treatment for each girl. As an ideal, we favor one-story cottages for eight or 10 girls each, with one officer in charge. It is doubtful whether the same intensive work would cost more in such cottages than in larger ones. Dr. Hart thinks that it would be practicable to provide at least one or two small cottages for not more than 10 pupils each, where girls approaching

their parole may live and keep house under the conditions of a normal family home; also that 25 should be recognized as the desirable maximum population per cottage in training schools for girls.



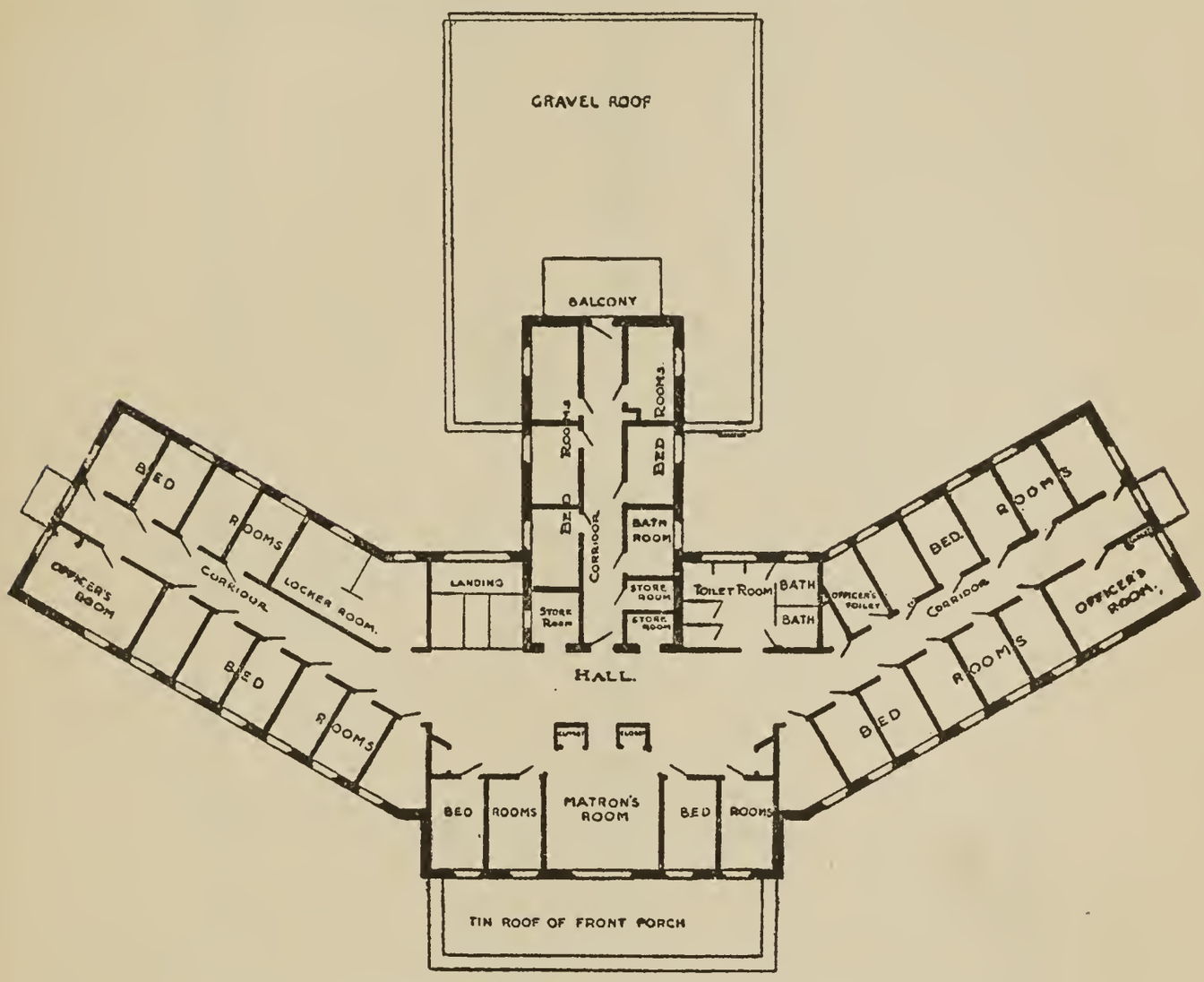
INDIANA GIRLS' SCHOOL, CLERMONT, INDIANA
COTTAGE—FIRST FLOOR PLAN

This cottage is admirably planned. The kitchen and laundry are cut off from the rest of the cottage by the dining room, thus avoiding kitchen odors and summer heat. There are good storerooms and rear porches. The schoolrooms at the ends of corridors are admirably lighted. Ample accommodations are provided for the officers.

TYPES OF SLEEPING ACCOMMODATIONS

In addition to determining the degree of centralization desired and the size of the cottages, the board and superintendent need to determine the type of sleeping accommodations to be provided

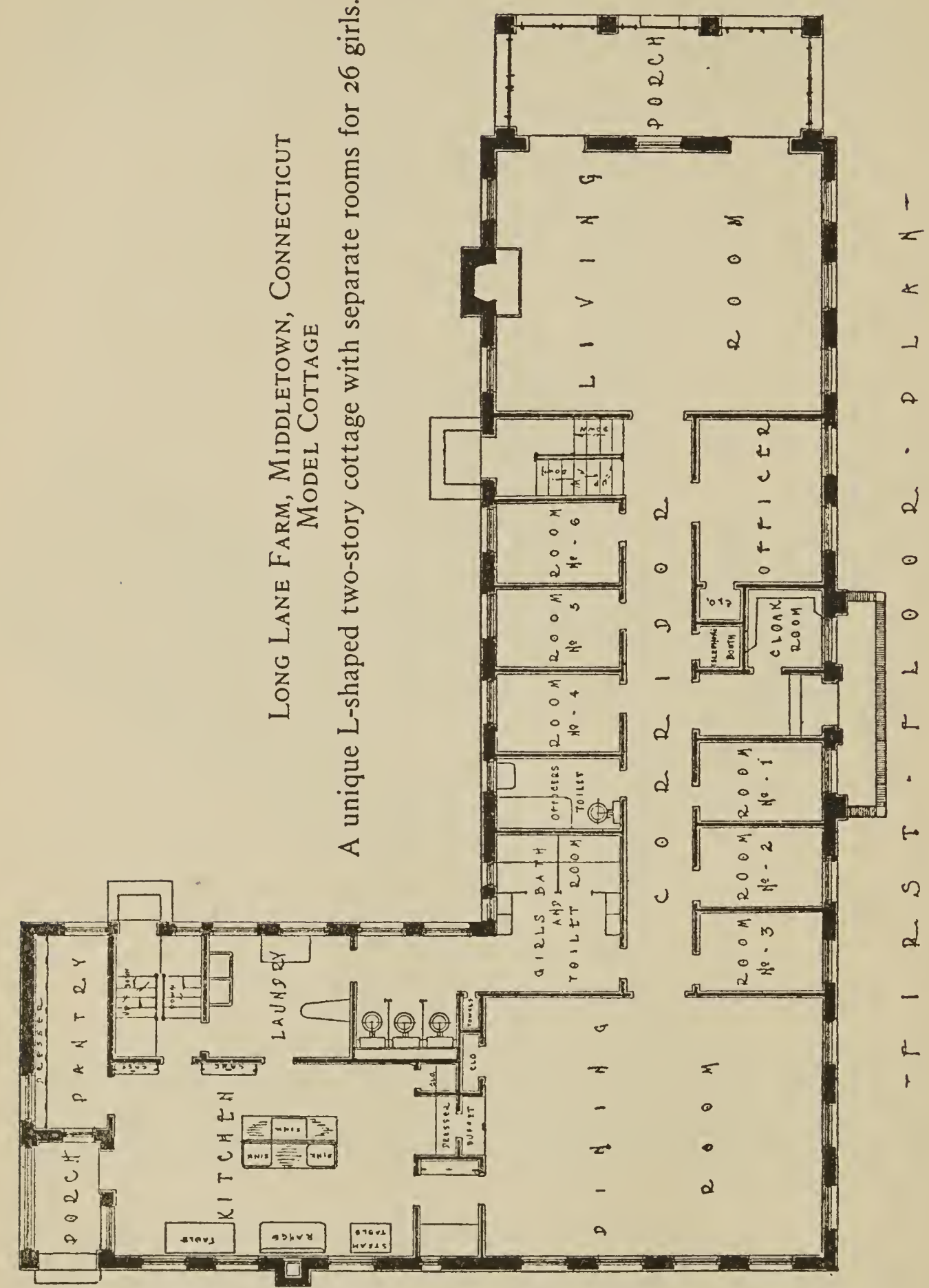
before an architect is in a position to draw up detailed plans. In the earliest houses of refuge caring for both sexes or for delinquent boys only, there were two types of sleeping accommodations, cells (practically identical with the prison cells used for adults), in



INDIANA GIRLS' SCHOOL, CLERMONT, INDIANA
COTTAGE—SECOND FLOOR PLAN

This floor provides separate rooms for 30 girls. The matron's room commands a view of every door on the floor. Girls' rooms are not locked, but if a girl opens her door an electric signal is given in the matron's room. The lighting of the building is ideal, nearly every room getting sunlight at some hour in the day.

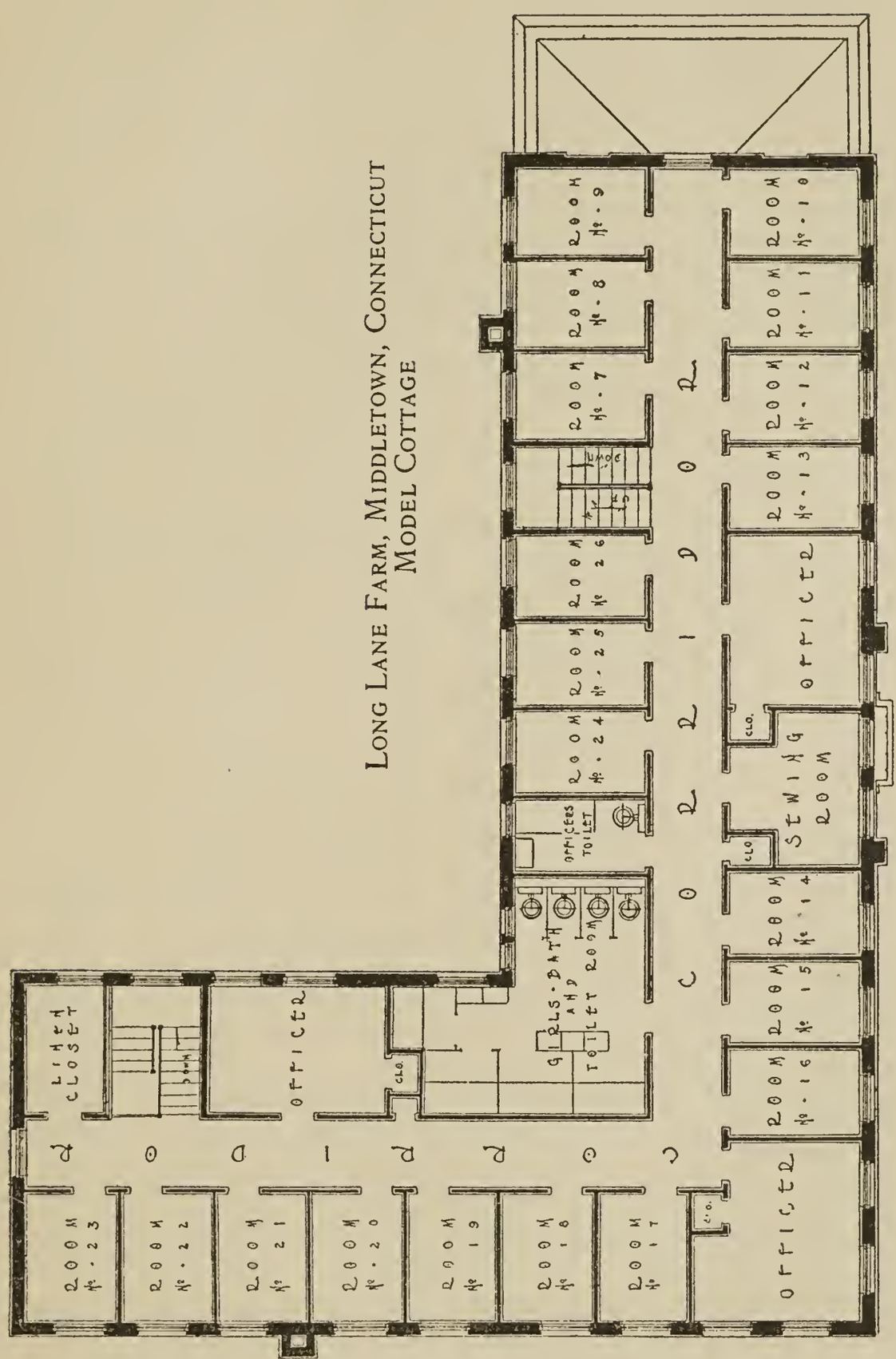
which some or all of the boys slept, or the more widely accepted large dormitories where they slept in rows of single iron beds. In the schools for boys the dormitory system is still the prevailing one. A few schools for delinquent boys like the Children's Village



Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut
Model Cottage

A unique L-shaped two-story cottage with separate rooms for 26 girls.

Towner-Sellew Associates, Architects



LONG LANE FARM, MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT
MODEL COTTAGE

SECOND FLOOR PLAN

Towner-Sellew Associates, Architects

at Dobbs Ferry and the Hawthorne School have one or two special cottages with a separate room for each boy. The first school for delinquent girls in the United States provided single rooms for the older girls and dormitories for the younger ones. While the ideal has not yet been realized, the present trend is definitely toward providing a separate room for each girl.

Some cottages built on the basis of a single room for each girl have been forced to put two or even three in each room because the population now greatly exceeds the normal capacity. We found a very few institutions that were using some double-deck beds; also a very few cases where old-fashioned double beds for two girls each were still in use. Sleeping porches are gaining in favor. These started in institutions caring for physically defective children who need to sleep outdoors. Some schools using sleeping porches assign two girls to a single room, one girl sleeping in the room and one on the porch. Both use the room for dressing purposes. In other instances separate dressing rooms are provided for the girls sleeping on porches. The types of sleeping accommodations provided in these 57 training schools for girls may be seen from the following statistical statement:

Type of Sleeping Accommodation	Section of United States				
	Eastern	Southern	Midwestern	Mountain and Coast	All Sections
	Number of Schools				
Single rooms only	1	2	2	—	5
Dormitories only	2	6	5	—	13
Sleeping porches only	—	—	—	—	—
Single rooms and dormitories	7	2	9	5	23
Single rooms and sleeping porches	—	1	1	—	2
Dormitories and sleeping porches	—	—	1	1	2
Single rooms, dormitories and sleeping porches	2	7	2	1	12
Total schools	12	18	20	7	57

It is interesting to note that while only one-twelfth of these schools (5 of 57) provide a single room for each girl in care, an additional two-thirds provide single rooms for part of their population. This means that in practically three-fourths of all the public and semi-public institutions for delinquent girls in the United States, part or all of the pupils are given separate sleeping rooms. About one-fourth of the schools provide dormitories for the entire population. No school provides sleeping porches for all its pupils.

In the above statistical statement we have counted as a "dormitory" any room which is not a single room. In the following statement we have attempted to differentiate between double rooms (providing for two girls each) and larger dormitories (providing for more than two).

Sleeping Accommodation of All or a Majority of the Girls	Section of United States				
	Eastern	Southern	Midwestern	Mountain and Coast	All Sections
	Number of Schools				
Single rooms	7	7	7	3	24
Double rooms	1	2	1	1	5
Larger dormitories	4	9	12	3	28
Total schools	12	18	20	7	57

In this statement we have not attempted to differentiate between dormitories and sleeping porches, which are really outdoor dormitories. An interesting deduction from the figures given above is that while three-fourths of these schools provide some single rooms, in less than half (24 out of 57) did all or a majority of the girls at the time of our visit sleep in single rooms. The figures show the actual conditions as we found them. Rooms are classified according to the number of girls they were accommodating, not according to the number for which they were built.

The following are some of the institutions where all or the majority of the girls sleep in single rooms: Industrial School for Girls, Lancaster, Massachusetts; Sleighton Farm, Darlington, Pennsylvania; Tennessee Vocational School for Girls at Tullahoma; Girls' Training School, Gainesville, Texas; State Training School for Girls, Geneva, Illinois; Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls

at Milwaukee; and State School for Girls, Grand Mound, Washington.

In the Florida Industrial School for Girls at Ocala, a comparatively new institution, there is a definite plan to place two girls in each sleeping room. Just prior to our visit a new cottage had been opened with 20 girls' rooms, each built to accommodate two girls. These rooms were exceedingly attractive, with furniture in excellent taste, running water in each room, and a good clothes closet. At El Retiro, California, many of the small tent cottages provided for two girls each. It should be added, however, that if it is necessary for one room to accommodate more than one girl, three or four should share it. Two girls of this type in one sleeping room often constitute a serious moral problem. Double rooms are the least desirable of any type of sleeping arrangement in these schools. If single rooms are impossible, even large dormitories are preferable to double rooms.

In the following institutions the majority of the girls sleep in dormitories: Oaklawn School for Girls, Howard, Rhode Island; Industrial School for Colored Girls, Marshallton, Delaware; Girls' Rescue Home, Mt. Meigs, Alabama (colored girls); Girls' Industrial School, Geneva, Nebraska; State Industrial Home for Girls, Chillicothe, Missouri; and the California School for Girls at Ventura.

Formerly it was felt that the dormitory system for delinquents was necessary because of the need of constant supervision, that only in this way could moral dangers be avoided. This theory is no longer held by any large number of workers with these girls. Most superintendents favor a system of single rooms, or a combination of single rooms and sleeping porches. In their opinion, in which we heartily concur, single rooms are especially important in institutions of this type, where the majority of the girls are easily excited, unstable, and emotionally high-strung. Disciplinary problems are reduced when girls of this type have their own rooms to which they may retire during rest periods, as well as at night. Moreover, a girl with a natural interest in home-making should have a place in which she can, under suitable supervision, express her own individuality. Freedom to decorate one's own room develops a sense of responsibility and pride in caring for it.

In the hospital and in the receiving cottage single rooms are necessary to prevent the possible spread of diseases. When a girl first arrives, or when a paroled one is returned, it is important for her to have a room to herself, until she has passed the period when she is most likely to relate her past experiences. We are as much convinced of the need of single rooms in these training schools for girls as that in all institutions the cottage system should replace the congregate.

Physical Signs of the Penal Idea

As the earliest houses of refuge were practically juvenile prisons, so many of the early training schools for girls, especially those which began as private undertakings, were primarily "shelters" for "erring females," as the title sometimes definitely stated. The physical plant bore a direct relationship to the ideas of the times regarding juvenile delinquents and the work to be carried on in such institutions. If the main idea was punishment or the necessity of keeping these children in confinement, there were often iron bars or gratings on the windows, high fences, locked doors, and some cells. If it was a place of retreat from the world for the girls, there were fences to keep other people out and to provide greater privacy. But with the substitution of modern ideas of scientific study and treatment, which require giving these children a life as much like that of an outside community as possible, these old physical signs of the penal idea have been gradually disappearing. It is interesting to note that even the first public institution for delinquent girls had no wall or fence, and most of the windows were without any protection. Unfortunately some of the later schools partially reverted to the older ideas in these respects. The present trend is toward minimum repression or seclusion by means of the physical plant.

The degree in which there still remain visible signs of the penal idea in the schools visited can be seen from the figures on page 152. It will be noted that only a very few of these schools now have walls or high fences around their property. In several instances they are in so dilapidated a condition that they do not provide much protection, either in keeping girls in or other people out. In one school a wire fence encloses only the yard belonging to the

receiving cottage. In another the buildings are placed in such a way that they partly enclose the playground; a fence completes the enclosure. One school, located in a poor section of a large city, considers that a wooden fence which completely surrounds the property is essential for its protection. One eastern institution still maintains a guardhouse at its entrance, which is out of keeping with the present spirit of the school under its progressive superintendent. Whenever an automobile passes through the gate a guard comes out, inspects the car, and notes in a book the name of the person or persons entering or leaving the grounds, together with the exact hour and minute.

Evidences of Penal Idea in the Plant	Number of Schools
Walls or fences	
Brick wall—entire or partial	3
High wooden fence—entire or partial	1
High wire fence—entire or partial	4
Window protection	
Bars, gratings, or grills on all windows	18
Bars, gratings, or grills on many windows	6
Bars, gratings, or grills on a few windows	19
Windows not protected	14
Locked doors	
Outside cottage doors locked during day	18
Girls' room doors (all or part) locked at night	29

It is significant that in these schools whose function is to care for the delinquent girl with whom family and community have failed, one-fourth (14 of 57) have no protection for the windows, and an additional third (19 of 57) have a few protected windows only. Thus, more than half of these schools have only a few or no windows which are protected. In many only the windows of punishment rooms or of the receiving cottage have grills, gratings, or bars. In some that are without bars or gratings, in order to prevent escapes, windows are blocked so that they can be opened part way only. A number of schools, without other means of window protection, have screens made of an extra-heavy fine mesh. In a few, the girls are required at night to leave their day clothing outside their rooms. In a few schools for girls that have dormi-

tories, a night matron makes the rounds several times during the night. We have been in a very few congregate institutions where each door was locked as we passed through it. More and more in these girls' schools, however, the system of locking cottage and room doors is being abandoned. In many of the most progressive the outside cottage doors are unlocked all day and even the girls' room doors at night. In some instances an annunciator system is used which notifies the matron in her sleeping room if a girl opens her door during the night. In 10 of these 57 schools, prison-like cells or cages, generally situated in attics or basements, are used for punishment. Many have special punishment rooms not very different from the regular rooms for girls, except that there is heavier window protection and a stronger door.

The need for these protective measures may be governed not only by the ideas of the superintendent, but by the type of girl sent to the school. In institutions used only as a place of last resort a stronger need may be felt for some of these protective measures than where many of the girls are only in the first stages of delinquency.

We like to see few, if any, physical signs of the penal idea in a training school. In most of the schools visited, no wall or fence is necessary. An annunciator system is preferable to the locking of bedroom doors. The turning of a key on a girl has a definite psychological effect which in many cases may be serious. Complicated systems have been worked out that unlock a large number of doors at one time in case of danger or fire, but the fire risk, in our opinion, still remains, especially in buildings not fireproof. A special room where a girl may be placed by herself from which she cannot get out seems to be necessary in most institutions of this kind. It should not be a cell, but instead a special room resembling the other rooms for girls but with special safeguards against escapes.

Institutions with little or no window protection often have the fewest runaways. Bars and fences will not prevent escapes. The only sound method of keeping girls in the institution is to make them want to stay. It will not, of course, be possible to make all the girls want to stay, but the opinion of the many will have weight with the few who constitute the most difficult problems. In the

final analysis, the need of adopting such measures as bars, gratings, punishment rooms, and locked doors will depend to a large degree on the ability, personality, and spirit of the superintendent and her workers. The right kind of staff can carry on the work successfully, with very few if any physical means of protection in the plant construction. If one must choose, it is better for a few girls to run away than for all to be confined in an institution where the penal idea, through its physical expression, is constantly uppermost.

Fire Protection

The great importance of adequate provision in case of fire in these public institutions for delinquent girls will be appreciated when it is stated that these schools house almost 7,000 girls. While the safety of this large group is the major consideration, methods of fire prevention and control are needed to safeguard the large investments approximating $9,500,000 in buildings and equipment. Minimum institutional standards of fire protection depend on numerous factors, such as the type of housing (congregate or cottage), the number of stories in each building, the number of children in each cottage, the distance between buildings, and the accessibility of some outside public fire department. The present situation in respect to fire protection, including some methods of prevention and control and means of escape for the population, is shown in the following summary:

Equipment for Fire Prevention and Control	Number of Schools
Fire prevention	
Some fireproof or semi-fireproof buildings	11
Some buildings a definite fire risk	11
Fire control	
Fire hose	28
Chemical fire extinguishers	39
Means of escape	
Iron fire escapes or fire towers	31
Fire drills regularly	13
Fire drills occasionally	5

Only one-fifth of the schools have any fireproof or semi-fireproof buildings, and only a little over half are provided with iron fire

escapes or towers. This statement is not necessarily a criticism of existing conditions. For a one-story or even two-story cottage caring for a small family, these fire provisions are not essential, provided the buildings are not too close together and have sufficient exits. Every institution, however, should be provided adequately with fire hose and chemical fire extinguishers. At the time of our study only one-half had fire hose and two-thirds chemical fire extinguishers. Additional institutions have garden hose which in an emergency might be of some assistance. Less than one-fourth of the schools have fire-drills held regularly. Even where the construction of the cottage does not constitute any great fire risk, fire-drills would teach the girls to file out quickly and orderly and not to become confused in an emergency. They should be practiced frequently in the academic and vocational school buildings and an attempt should be made to make a record in emptying them as quickly as possible. They often contain above the first floor a large number of girls at one time. To be of any value these drills should come when the girls are not expecting them. A few schools have found it practical to have them at night. In some, credited with regular fire-drills, they occur only once in four weeks. In others they are as frequent as once a week. In our opinion they should be held at least once in two weeks.

While conditions in respect to fire protection and control in some of these schools are not what they should be, the situation as a whole does not seem to be serious. A few schools, however, stand out in our memory as presenting decided elements of danger. The State Training School for Girls in Alabama, which at the time of our visit was occupying its old location 18 miles from Birmingham, had practically no provisions for controlling or fighting fire, with the exception of a few chemical extinguishers. The nearest fire department was 18 miles away. To get fire engines up the hill where the institutional buildings were located would be difficult. There were no fire-drills. About six months before our visit a serious fire at this school had swept away its best buildings. In the South Carolina Industrial School for Girls at Columbia, a third-floor attic room in one of the cottages is used as a central schoolroom for academic classes. The cottage has only one fire escape, which connects with the second-floor sleeping porch, and

does not reach to the schoolroom, the only exit to which is an enclosed attic stairway. We were told that no fire-drills were being held.

Among the schools which at the time of our visit were conducting regular fire-drills were the New York State Training School for Girls at Hudson; Sleighton Farm, Darlington, Pennsylvania; Girls' Training School, Gainesville, Texas; State Industrial Home for Girls, Adrian, Michigan; Opportunity Farm for Girls, Cincinnati, Ohio.

As minimum standards of fire protection, we suggest the following:

1. One or two-story small cottages, with slow-burning or non-inflammable roofs.

2. A central heating plant in a fireproof building at some distance from the cottages. If in a small institution it is necessary to have a heating system within the cottage, the basement should be made as nearly fireproof as possible.

3. All doors to open outward.

4. Inflammable material should not be allowed to collect in attics or basements.

5. Fire escapes or fire towers on all buildings more than two stories high. Two-story buildings, in which children sleep or congregate in large numbers (as at school, chapel, gymnasium, and so forth) on the second floor, should have two ample, wide stairways. Fire escapes for these buildings are desirable.

6. Every institution should be adequately equipped with fire hose and chemical fire extinguishers. Water pressure must be sufficient for fire-fighting purposes.

7. Fire-drills conducted at least once in two weeks.

Special Buildings

Views differ as to what special buildings are essential. In an institution built on the cottage plan, in addition to houses where children live, various buildings for administrative purposes, academic and trade school, religious services, gymnasium classes, and so forth, are needed, the number and types of which will depend on the number of children in care, the activities to be emphasized, the views of the superintendents as to which of these can be com-

bined in particular buildings, and the amount of money available. The special buildings found in the schools visited are shown below:

Special Buildings Possessed by Schools	Number of Schools
Administration building	22
Staff house	6
School building	24
Gymnasium	3
Chapel	9
Hospital building	8
Receiving cottage	6
Reception department and hospital combined	14
Cottages for honor girls	14
Cottages for returned paroled girls	5
Cottages for demoted girls and punishment cases	8
Cottages for mentally defective	7
Cottages for venereal cases	11

An administration building and a central schoolhouse are the two most commonly found. Institutions with no administration building are likely to set aside one or two rooms in a cottage as offices. While just over two-fifths of the schools (24 of 57) have school buildings, and just under two-fifths (22 of 57) administration buildings, only one-seventh (8 of 57) have separate hospital buildings. Many of the smaller institutions, however, have equipped rooms in a cottage for a hospital department and clinic. Only a few of the larger institutions have a separate chapel or a gymnasium housed in a separate building. The gymnasium is often located in the basement of a school building, and a room on the second floor is set aside as an auditorium and chapel. The statistics cited regarding the number of institutions with cottages for special groups of children (new girls, returned girls, punishment cases, mentally defective girls, venereally diseased girls, and honor girls) do not show the entire situation. Many additional institutions have cottages for a combination of two or three of these groups, with each group cared for in a separate department.

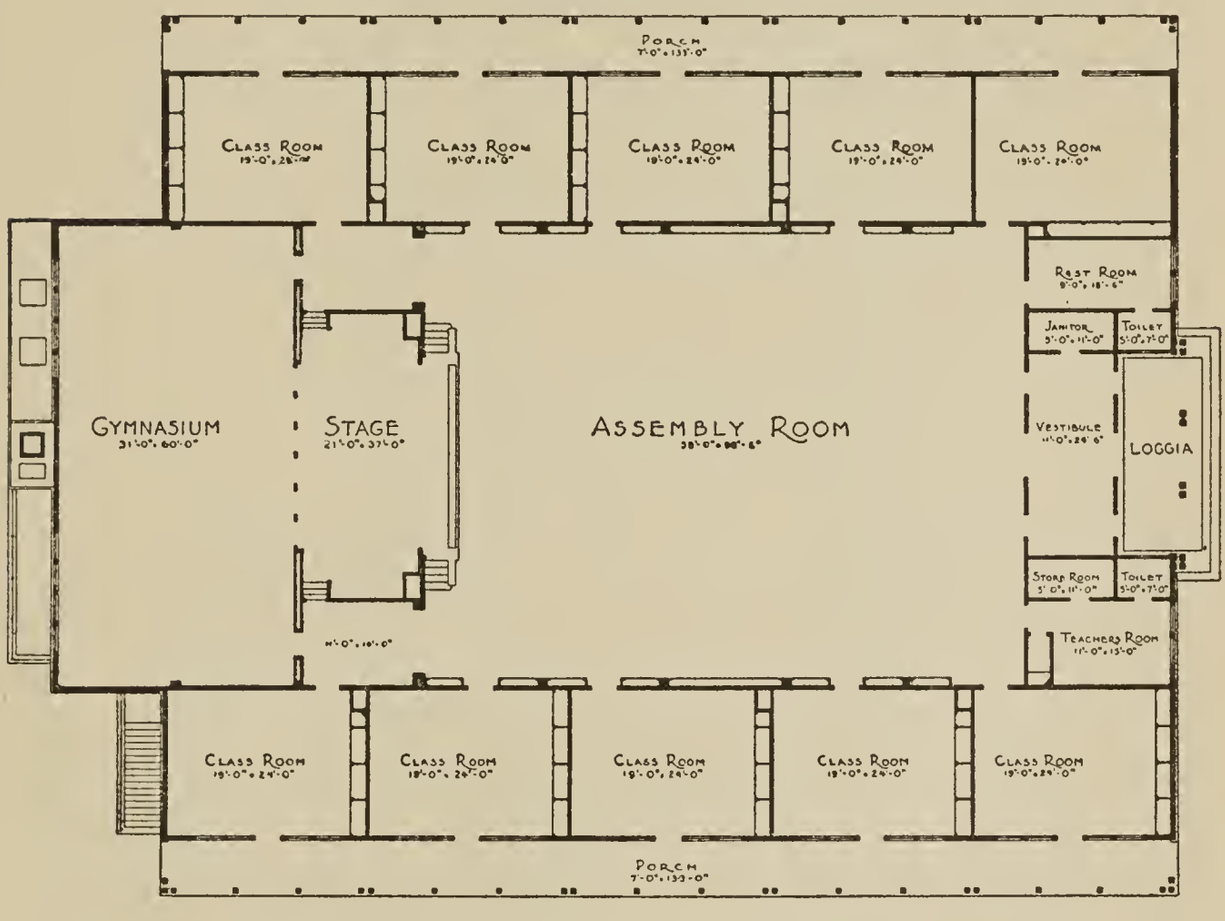
It is rather generally agreed that all of the larger training schools should have an administration building, not necessarily a large, imposing, or expensive one, although it should provide sufficient

space for suitable executive offices. In many cases, the superintendent and some of her workers also live in this building. In the larger schools we approve a separate home for a superintendent, where in her leisure hours she may get away from the exacting duties of her position. The question of a separate house for the staff is an open one. Some superintendents feel that much is to be gained in scattering the school teachers, office employes, and other workers among the cottages, where they may come to know the girls and the work in detail. On the other hand, workers find their task easier if at night they can be removed from the confusion of the cottages and have the benefit of the social life which a central staff house provides. Formerly, many institutions had their schoolrooms in the cottages, sometimes a dining or living room being used for the purpose. It is now generally agreed that a higher grade of academic and vocational instruction is possible in a well-equipped central school building. This plan, however, does not take from the cottage certain work which is prevocational in its nature. For example, even if there is a central sewing room in the school building, some hand sewing, mending, and fancy work will still be done in the cottages. As a school becomes large enough to warrant the expense, it should have a separate chapel building. There are many arguments against holding religious services in the same room which is used during week-days for gymnasium classes, motion pictures, or dancing. A gymnasium is greatly to be desired, but it may be housed in a building which also has other functions.

The number of special cottages for different groups of children will depend on the classification system. Every institution should have a hospital department, and in a large institution this should be a separate building. In many schools the newly received girls are kept in the hospital building, and in some a separate venereal ward in the hospital cares for all diseased girls. Special surgical and maternity wards are not necessary if a good outside hospital is accessible. There are, of course, arguments both for and against grouping girls in separate cottages who have not made good on parole, who are in need of special discipline, or are mentally deficient.

The Home School for Girls at Sauk Center, Minnesota, has an unusually fine community building, planned by Mrs. Morse, former superintendent, around which the life of the school centers.

The first floor contains an assembly room with a well-equipped stage, special lights for amateur dramatics, and movable seats; it is used also as a gymnasium and as a social meeting place. The assembly room has a higher ceiling than the rooms which surround it,



First Floor Plan

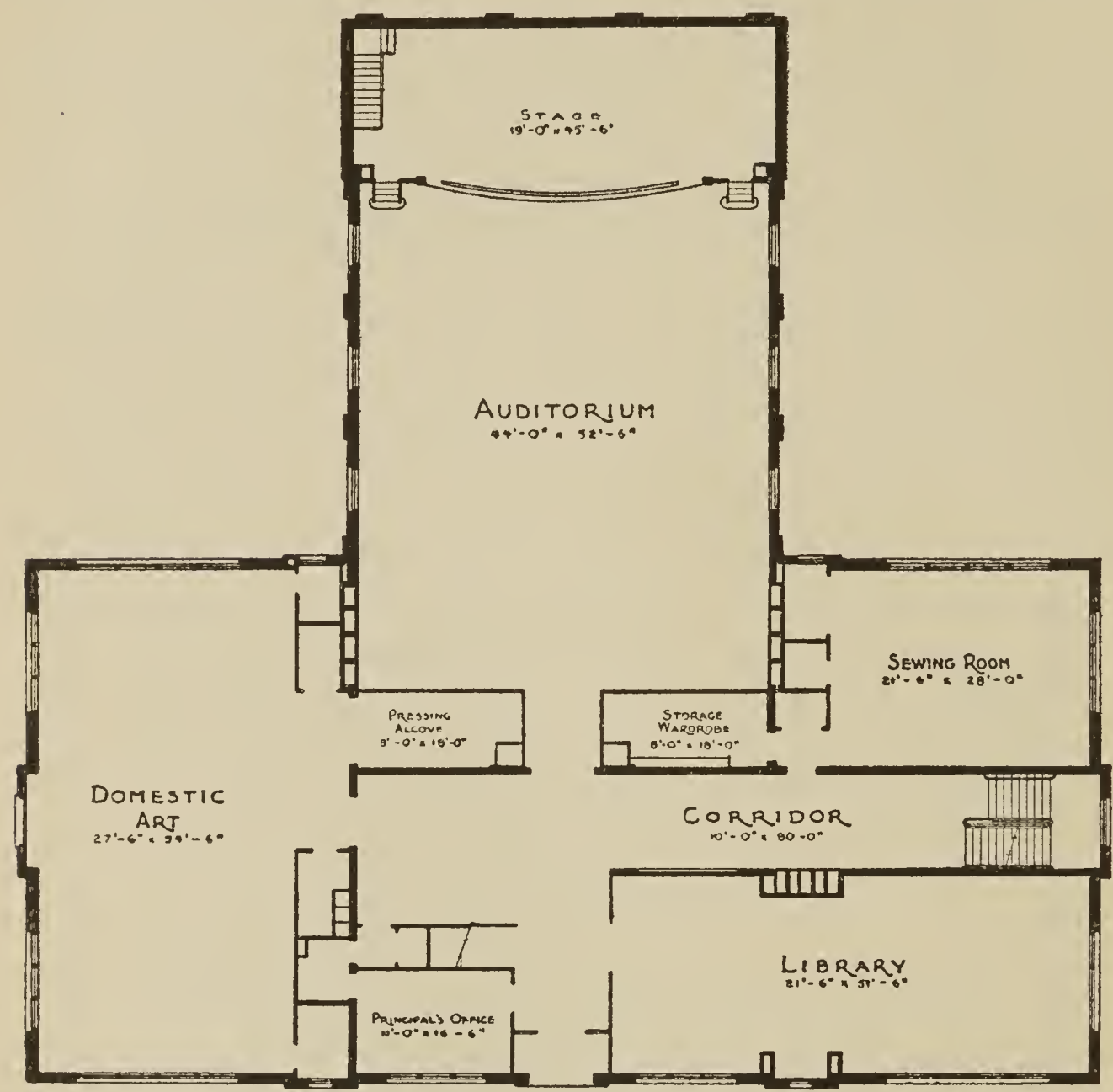
C. H. Johnston, Architect, St. Paul

Minnesota Home School for Girls, Sauk Center
School Building and Assembly Room

This is a convenient and well-planned one story building. The cost of construction was comparatively small because heavy walls and stairways were unnecessary, and only sufficient basement room was required to provide space for heating purposes. A one story building also eliminates fire risks. The schoolrooms are well planned and ideally lighted. The ceiling of the assembly room is higher than the ceilings of the schoolrooms and is lighted and ventilated by clearstory windows near the ceiling.

making possible good natural lighting from clearstory windows. On two sides of it are classrooms with separate outside entrances. Several of these rooms are used for administrative purposes, as offices of the chief parole agent and the school principal.

At Chillicothe, Missouri, at the time of our visit, the State Industrial Home for Girls was erecting a splendid new central school building, planned to include an auditorium, a gymnasium, and rooms for vocational instruction. It was easier to secure an ap-



First Floor Plan

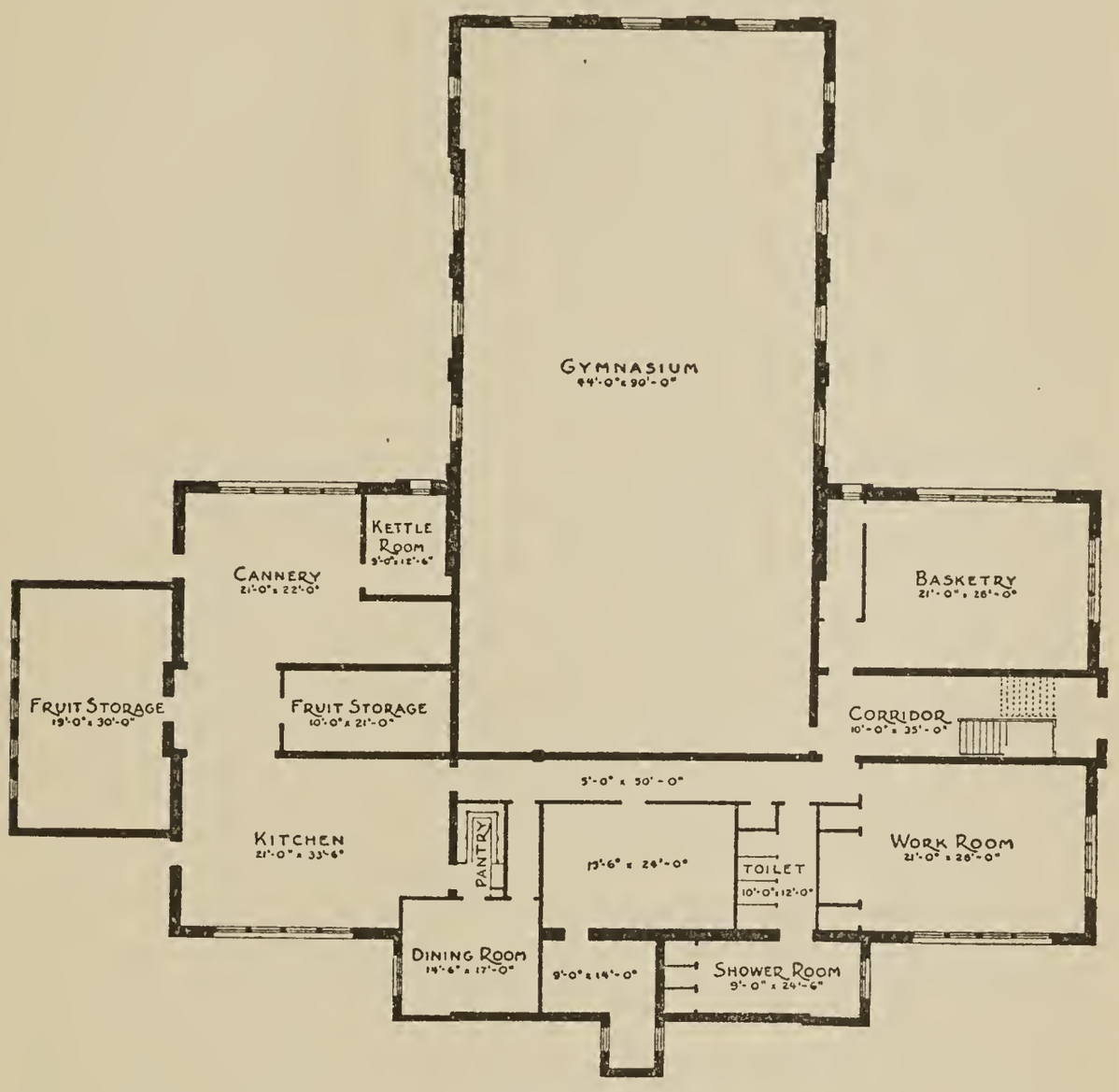
Samuel M. Hitt, Architect

Missouri Industrial Home for Girls, Chillicothe
School and Gymnasium

propriation for one large building to cover many functions than to secure funds for several smaller buildings. Besides academic schoolrooms, there are rooms for classes in sewing, art needle work, domestic science (dining room and kitchen), a cannery, and

a beauty parlor. There is an excellent auditorium with a large stage, a fairly good gymnasium, and a well-lighted room reserved for a library.

The Montrose School for Girls, Woodensburg, Maryland, is



BASEMENT PLAN

Samuel M. Hitt, Architect

MISSOURI INDUSTRIAL HOME FOR GIRLS, CHILLICOTHE
SCHOOL AND GYMNASIUM

fortunate in having on its historic site an old stone chapel, which, with a few repairs, will make one of the most attractive chapels found in any training school for girls. The California School for Girls at Ventura has a well-planned and well-equipped hospital with special rooms for operations, treatments, the giving of

douches, sterilization purposes, preparation of diet, and a waiting room for the girls. Sleighton Farm, Darlington, Pennsylvania, has a well-arranged central administration building where all business activities are carried on.

Equipment and Furnishings

The schools vary as much in the type, adequacy, and quality of their equipment and furnishings as they do in their buildings. Some institutions, as the New York Training School for Girls, are supplied with almost everything that is needed or desired. Several small institutions, as for example, the Girls' Rescue Home at Mt. Meigs, Alabama (school for colored girls), have almost nothing in the way of furnishings. However, most of the 57 schools are fairly well provided for, but still need additional equipment. Some of the older ones should be supplied with newer and more modern furnishings. In many instances the girls have painted the furniture for their rooms or for the dining rooms and have made attractive hangings of inexpensive materials. We remember especially the living room of a cottage in the State Industrial Home for Girls at Adrian, Michigan, where the girls had transformed a very dreary institutional room into a charming, homelike place. In the Home School for Girls at Sauk Center, some of the cottage dining rooms, with their small painted tables, attractive, handmade table runners and window hangings, resembled the type of tea-room now so much in vogue. There are still some institutions, however, in which the dining rooms are furnished with long tables, poor chairs, and heavy institutional dishes, and their living rooms have perhaps one central table with a row of chairs placed stiffly around the walls. A little imagination, initiative, and work could, without much money, largely banish this dreary, old-fashioned institutional aspect.

The schoolrooms should reach the standard of a good public school and be supplied with maps, globes, adjustable school desks, and slate blackboards. We saw many which had the furnishings common in public schools thirty years ago. If vocational training is to prepare a girl to take an outside position, equipment must be modern. In many schools which do not attempt regular vocational training, even the equipment for prevocational work was inadequate.

Every training school of any size should have some special hospital and clinic equipment. In those accessible to good outside hospitals elaborate equipment for surgical operations is not always necessary. But since in a school for delinquent girls the control and cure of venereal diseases constitute a vital problem, equipment for examination and treatment of these cases should be complete.

All the institutions should have recreational facilities and play apparatus. It should not be overlooked, however, that a great deal may be accomplished with but simple tools. Any room or building used as a chapel should be supplied with suitable furnishings of good quality.

As was true in the case of buildings, the best work is not necessarily being done where the most money is spent for equipment, but it is obvious that good work is easier if this latter is sufficient and modern. Every state in its training school should do its duty to the children in care. It is not fair to expect a staff to perform the difficult labor of re-educating delinquent girls without proper tools.

The executive board or committee, who with the superintendent must make plans for and decide on buildings and equipment, has an important and difficult piece of work to perform. To sum up, this board should make at the outset an outline of all buildings to be erected immediately and in the future, basing it on the work to be done, and remembering that simple buildings are the best. For a new training school it must determine the degree of centralization desired, the size of cottage units, and the type of sleeping arrangements. The subject of protection for windows, annunciators, and so forth, requires attention; and the whole question of fire protection should be studied carefully. Equipment and furnishings cannot be overlooked. As the institution grows, the erection of buildings for special purposes will need to be considered. Although a very careful plan should be worked out before operations begin, even then some mistakes cannot be avoided. Those who have had experience in building their own homes will testify to this fact. It is therefore especially important that simple buildings be erected in order that there may be elasticity and that needed changes may not be too expensive.

CHAPTER VII

CURRENT EXPENSES

CONSIDERABLE interest is felt in the per capita current expenditures of training schools for delinquents. Superintendents, members of administrative boards, and appropriation or budget committees of the state legislatures wish to know what it costs to operate other institutions than those with which they are connected.

Relationship Between Expenditures and Work Done

It is important to bear in mind the relationship or lack of relationship between per capita current expenditures and the grade of work done. In the 57 schools examined we found, as we expected, that the highest grade of work is not necessarily being carried on where per capita expenditures are the highest. No exact ratio exists between the quality of the work and the amount of money spent. In Chapter III, The Staff, we noted that quality and effectiveness of work done in a particular institution are more dependent upon the type and adequacy of the staff than upon any other factors. A good staff may be poorly paid. Where employes serve with a missionary spirit, the work may be of a high order. Current expenditures somewhat below the average do not necessarily mean that support for the institution is inadequate. In different parts of the country, costs of food, clothing, and so on, vary considerably. Because of commendable planning, one school may have a lower per capita cost than another.

Nevertheless, a low per capita cost in some instances accompanies poor work. An institution may have a personnel poor in quality, or an insufficient staff; may lack individual study and treatment of the children in care; or may give poor food—all of which would lessen current expenses. Sometimes a low per capita cost means that the educational and prevocational training of the

children is subordinated to the routine work of the institution. In respect to the work of the farm, this situation happily in training schools for girls is not common, although in occasional instances, pupils are taken out of classrooms at the will of the farmer whenever he needs extra help. Even though expenses are increased, a sufficient number of people should be employed to do all work in excess of what can be accomplished by the girls outside of school hours. We are not here including the exceptional cases where outdoor work for therapeutic reasons should replace academic instruction, or where certain girls cannot benefit from academic training.

On the other hand, high current expenditures may not necessarily mean high-grade work. Good salaries may be paid without those in charge understanding the need of certain qualifications in workers with these girls. There may possibly be extravagance and waste in operation. But a high per capita cost may also make possible an exceptional grade of work, with ample return for every cent of money spent; it may permit employment of qualified specialists, a program of individualized study and treatment for each girl, and varied prevocational instruction.

Wisdom of Adequate Support

Recently the writer heard it said of a certain institution that "it costs more to send a girl to the state training school than to Vassar College." Such a statement is inaccurate and certainly shows no understanding of the work of a training school. There can be no real basis of comparison between the cost of educating a mentally and emotionally normal girl in boarding school or college and the highly specialized work necessary to re-educate and remotivate the girl whose conduct has made it impossible for her to live in a community. We must expect to spend considerable money to achieve any real results with such cases. Although it is impossible to point out a direct relationship between the highest grade of work and the largest per capita cost, it is safe to assert that we are likely to receive more effective work if we provide sufficient funds. The wisdom of adequate support is not debatable. If a state operates a training school, the work attempted should be well done, even though the number of pupils be small.

Dangers from Comparisons

There are dangers to be avoided in drawing favorable or unfavorable comparisons between schools based on current expenditures. Moreover there are some limitations to the value of statistical material here presented. Just as in Chapter IV, Salaries in Training Schools for Girls, we found it important in comparing salaries to keep in mind the various factors which bear a relationship to the subject, in discussing comparative per capita current expenditures, we must remember the numerous elements involved, such as the size of the school, the resources of the state, prices of commodities in neighboring markets, and so forth. It is vital to relate the question of current expenses to the individual school. Before any criticisms are made of a particular institution, one should know it thoroughly and the state in which it is situated.

In estimating the value of statistics that show sectional differences in current expenses, we should remember that in some portions of the United States the number of girls' schools is not large, and a few unusually high or low per capita expenditures will greatly affect the average for the section. As in Chapter IV with salaries, so here with current expenses we shall do better to compare the distributions of current expenses within sections than to rely on sectional averages for our comparison. Since sectional differences do seem to be a significant ingredient in the general problem of these girls' schools, it has seemed advisable to subdivide by sections our tables of expense per inmate.

Value of Data Showing per Capita Expenses

The statistical data given in this chapter and in the more complete tables in the Appendix provide a general picture such as has not been formerly available. Heretofore, efforts to compare per capita expenses of schools have generally been founded on published annual or biennial reports. Since no two institutions use a system of accounts exactly alike, comparisons based on the information obtained from reports are often misleading. In the present study the writer in personal visits made great efforts to secure data in such forms as to render later comparisons possible.

We hope that the material thus obtained may be of assistance to

schools whose financial support is especially inadequate and whose per capita current expenditure is therefore small. The information should give these schools the foundation upon which to request increased appropriations. It should also be of assistance to boards and committees about to establish new institutions. A new training school has little or no basis on which to make its plans, except as it benefits from the experience of other institutions.

Table 7 in Appendix B gives statistics of current expenditures for each girls' school included in our study. Part 2 of this table gives the per capita current expenses, per capita expenditures for general salaries, and the per capita expenditures for teachers' salaries, for each of the 57 schools.

Actual Per Capita Expenditures

It is of interest at this point to note the current per capita expenses by sections of the United States and for the country as a whole.

Yearly Current per Capita Expenditure (to nearest dollar)	Section of United States: Eastern	South-ern	Midwest-ern	Mountain and Coast	All Sections
	Number of schools				
Not more than $200	..	1	..	..	1
$201 to $300	1[a]	2[a]	1	..	4[b]
$301 to $400	1	2	5	1	9
$401 to $500	4[a]	4	3[b]	1	12[c]
$501 to $600	2	3	3[a]	1	9[a]
$601 to $700	1	1	2[b]	..	4[b]
$701 to $800	1	1	1	..	3
$801 or more	..	..	..	2[f]	2[f]
Not ascertainable	..	3	..	1	4
Total schools	10[b]	17[a]	15[d]	6[f]	48[e,f]
Average current per capita expenditure	$525	$437	$456	$604[f]	$486

If schools were included whose current expenses are met in part by payment of teachers by outside boards of education, this number would be increased by:

[a] One school [b] Two schools [c] Three schools [d] Five schools [e] Eight schools

[f] One school is here omitted which had had girls in care for less than one year and whose current expenses per girl for this period were consequently abnormally high. Its inclusion would bring the average up to $621.

It will be seen that the Mountain and Coast Section has the highest average per capita cost, and the Southern Section has the lowest, but the actual distribution of per capita costs shows the South, Midwest, and East, to be much alike. Actually the East, which has a higher average than the other two, has a larger proportion (7 out of 12) below the general average. From this table we have omitted all schools where any payment for teachers was made by outside boards of education, since they cannot be regarded as comparable with the rest. The situation in these schools may, however, be seen from footnotes to the table.

In our opinion, the average for the United States ($486) is not excessive and a per capita cost of less than $500 for a training school where each girl represents a difficult problem, needing the services of specialists, cannot be considered too high. It is questionable whether it is to be considered adequate.

The lowest per capita total current expenditure in the United States for a girls' training school is $149 a year. This is in a small institution for colored girls where there are rather good standards but where living is entirely a "hand-to-mouth" affair, no one knowing where money to pay for the next day's food is to come from, and where salaries are too low.

Low per capita expenditures are not confined, however, to schools caring exclusively for colored girls. Of the eight schools for girls in the United States which have the lowest per capita current cost, one cares for white girls exclusively, three for white and colored girls together, and four for colored girls only.

The three schools having the highest per capita current expenses are all situated in the Mountain and Coast Section, and all have current expenditures of more than $800 per girl. Two are very small, new schools, where the per capita cost will probably decrease somewhat as the number of girls increases. One having a high per capita rate is a large Pacific Coast institution operated on an expensive basis.

The schools (not having any contributions to teachers' salaries from outside boards of education) whose current per capita expenses are within $20 of the general average are as follows: Industrial School for Girls, Lancaster, Massachusetts; State Home and Industrial School for Girls and Women, Samarcand, North

Carolina; State Training School for Girls, Birmingham, Alabama; Girls' Training School, Gainesville, Texas; Industrial Home for Negro Girls, Tipton, Missouri; State Industrial Home for Girls, Chillicothe, Missouri.

General Salaries, Per Capita. The question of per capita expenditures for salaries in these training schools was given special attention. The per capita cost for general salaries (exclusive of those for academic and special teachers) for each section of the United States and for the country as a whole may be shown as follows:

Yearly General Salary Cost per Capita (to nearest dollar)	Section of United States				
	Eastern	Southern	Midwestern	Mountain and Coast	All Sections
	Number of Schools				
Not more than $50	1	..	..	..	1
$51 to $100	2	4	6	..	12
$101 to $150	5	5	5	1	16
$151 to $200	2	4	5	3	14
$201 to $250	1	2	3	..	6
$251 to $300	1	..	1	..	2
$301 to $350	..	..	..	1	1
$351 to $400	..	..	..	1	1
Unknown	..	3	..	..	3
Total schools	12	18	20	6[a]	56
Average per capita cost	$172	$123	$137	$211[a]	$150

[a] One school was omitted which had had girls in care for less than a year and whose salary cost per girl for this period was consequently abnormal.

Here again the lowest average per capita cost is for the Southern Section, but again, too, the East has the largest proportion of schools falling below the average. Costs are as usual much the highest in the Mountain and Coast Section, but the other three sections exhibit very similar general situations. This general salary cost is, of course, the cost only of the money salaries paid. The real cost to the institution of the services of the general employes would include in addition their board.

Schools whose general salary per capita cost is within $10 of the general average are: Sleighton Farm, Darlington, Pennsylvania;

Arkansas Training School for Girls at Alexander; Training School for Girls, Mitchellville, Iowa; State School for Girls, Grand Mound, Washington.

Teachers' Salaries, Per Capita. The per capita expenditures for teachers' salaries (academic, music, recreational, and so forth, but not vocational teachers) were calculated separately, because of the special interest on the part of many superintendents in this question. The per capita expenditures for teachers' salaries by sections and for the United States are as follows:

Yearly Cost of Teachers per Girl (to nearest dollar)	Section of United States				
	Eastern	Southern	Midwestern	Mountain and Coast	All Sections
	Number of Schools				
Not more than $10	2	1	3	1	7
$11 to $20	4	4	4	1	13
$21 to $30	3	3	6	2	14
$31 to $40	..	3	1	..	4[a]
$41 to $60	1	1	1	..	3
$61 to $80	..	..	..	1	1
Total schools	10	12	15	5[a]	42
Average cost	$22	$25	$21	$35[a]	$23

[a] Omits one school where cost was abnormally high for this period because there had been girls in care for only eleven months.

The per capita cost of teachers, like the per capita cost of general salaries, is a partial cost only, board also being provided. Those schools are perforce excluded which had teachers paid by outside boards of education, since the latter received all their salaries in money and the salary costs are therefore not comparable. For the Midwestern and Mountain and Coast Sections the cost of teaching is underestimated and the cost of general salaries overestimated because there are schools where all the teaching that occurs is done by officers coming under the "general" classification. The per capita cost of teachers differs from the per capita cost of general salaries in being calculated on the basis of the number of girls in care, excluding any babies that may be in the institution, while for general salaries the latter are included. However, the few schools

reporting babies in care, as well as girls, have no appreciable effect on any averages of per capita costs.

It will be seen that the distribution does not materially differ between sections, the high average for the Mountain and Coast Section being due entirely to one completely atypical school.

The following schools have per capita costs for teachers which differ not more than $1.00 (roughly) from the average: New York State Training School for Girls at Hudson; Montrose School for Girls, Woodensburg, Maryland; Tennessee Vocational School for Girls at Tullahoma; Florida Industrial School for Girls at Ocala; the State Training School for Girls, Geneva, Illinois; Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls at Milwaukee; State Industrial Home for Girls, Chillicothe, Missouri. The figures cited above include only the amounts paid out of institutional funds for teachers' salaries, and exclude 11 schools where teachers are paid by outside boards of education. Each instance of this kind is indicated in the notes following the tables in Appendix B.

A few schools have a separate appropriation for salaries which therefore do not come out of the maintenance fund. In such cases we added the maintenance and salary appropriations to secure the total income of the institution, and then tabulated the salary costs in the same manner as we did for the other training schools.

Detailed Expenditures of Twenty Schools

In addition to the data covering total current expenses, general salaries, and teachers' salaries for the 57 girls' schools visited, we tabulated certain other per capita expenditures, such as provisions, clothing, and so forth, for 20 of the 57 schools. It was difficult to reduce to a uniform basis the information on these points which was obtained by the writer at the institutions, but we believe that the computations show, with fair accuracy, the amounts dispensed. Some institutions include all costs for repairs and improvements under current expenditures. In those cases we endeavored with the assistance of the institutional worker who served as bookkeeper to subtract the amount paid for extraordinary improvements, but to retain current expenditures for repairs. In the accounts of most schools farm expenses for seed, labor, fertilizer, and so on, are included in current expenses, but the cost of

TABLE 5.—COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF CURRENT EXPENSES OF TWENTY SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS

I. EASTERN SECTION

	Conn. Long Lane Farm	Maine State School for Girls	Mass. Industrial School for Girls	Pa. Girls' Dept. Glen Mills Schools	Del. Industrial School for Girls	Dist. Col. National Tr. School for Girls
Average number of girls	187	132	292	454	75	106
Actual expenditures						
General salaries	$53,931	$17,064	$49,178	$64,261	$8,482	$11,603
Teachers' salaries	8,610	1,867	8,776	7,250	1,006	825
All salaries	$62,541	$18,931	$57,954	$71,511	$9,488	$12,428
Provisions	34,207	17,063	30,413	62,097	10,164	7,783
Clothing	7,138	4,445	9,260	14,839	1,180	2,197
Fuel and light	16,436	11,111	18,786	25,513	4,142	3,755
Miscellaneous	27,048	22,754	27,746	34,734	8,296	8,650
Total	$147,370	$74,304	$144,159[a]	$208,694	$33,270	$34,813
Expense per girl						
General salaries	$288	$129	$169	$142	$113	$109
Teachers' salaries	46	14	30	16	13	8
All salaries	$334	$143	$199	$158	$126	$117
Provisions	183	129	104	137	136	73
Clothing	38	34	32	33	16	21
Fuel and light	88	84	64	56	55	35
Miscellaneous	145	173	95	76	111	82
Total	$788	$563	$494	$460	$444	$328

[a] Exclusive of expenditures of Girls' Parole Branch, a separate undertaking. For same period, that office expended $34,518, of which $22,955 was for salaries.

II. SOUTHERN SECTION

	Texas Girls' Training School	Ga. Training School for Girls	Ark. Training School for Girls	N. Car. State Home and Ind. Sch. for Girls and Women	Tenn. Vocational School for Girls	Ala. State Tr. School for Girls
Average number of girls	75	86	51	181	76	69
Actual expenditures						
General salaries	$16,020	$9,800	$7,940	$19,613	$5,431	$5,690
Teachers' salaries	4,380	1,620	900	6,125	1,777	[b]
All salaries	$20,400	$11,420	$8,840	$25,738	$7,208	$5,690
Provisions	17,000	12,260	7,018	26,327	5,675	4,935
Clothing	5,000	2,309	1,456	8,671	2,125	1,617
Fuel and light	4,500	3,733	909	3,553	1,921	255
Miscellaneous	12,400	22,411	5,717	20,330	8,100	3,269
Total	$59,300	$52,133	$23,940	$84,619	$25,029	$15,766
Expense per girl						
General salaries	$214	$114	$156	$108	$72	$82
Teachers' salaries	58	19	17	34	23	[b]
All salaries	$272	$133	$173	$142	$95	$82
Provisions	227	142	138	146	75	72
Clothing	67	27	28	48	28	23
Fuel and light	60	43	18	20	25	4
Miscellaneous	165	261	112	112	106	47
Total	$791	$606	$469	$468	$329	$228

[b] No teacher on staff in 1921.

III. MIDWESTERN SECTION

	Mich. State Industrial Home for Girls	Minn. Home School for Girls	Ill. State Training School for Girls	Ind. Girls' School	Ohio Girls' Industrial School
Average number of girls	266	334	412	363	478
Actual expenditures					
General salaries	$76,923	$48,502	$73,826	$38,118	$45,200
Teachers' salaries	5,621	12,316	9,793	6,306	7,200
All salaries	$82,544	$60,818	$83,619	$44,424	$52,400
Provisions	27,249	46,283	41,770	32,523	40,407
Clothing	8,869	14,333	9,665	4,919	3,000
Fuel and light	11,735	43,111	18,882	22,441	10,000
Miscellaneous	73,750	56,915	58,622	27,704	38,477
Total	$204,147	$221,460	$212,558	$132,011	$144,284
Expense per girl					
General salaries	$289	$145	$179	$105	$95
Teachers' salaries	21	37	24	17	15
All salaries	$310	$182	$203	$122	$110
Provisions	102	139	101	90	85
Clothing	33	43	24	14	6
Fuel and light	44	129	46	62	21
Miscellaneous	277	170	142	76	80
Total	$767	$663	$516	$364	$302

IV. MOUNTAIN AND COAST SECTION

	Calif. School for Girls	Wash. State School for Girls	Colo. State Industrial School for Girls
Average number of girls	152	113	146
Actual expenditures			
General salaries	$50,919	$17,569	$23,930
Teachers' salaries	10,792	3,310	3,000
All salaries	$61,711	$20,879	$26,930
Provisions	25,748	15,055	14,350
Clothing	5,269	2,993	2,742
Fuel and light	15,404	11,830	6,121
Miscellaneous	24,621	8,862	16,868
Total	$132,753	$59,619	$67,011
Expense per girl			
General salaries	$335	$156	$164
Teachers' salaries	71	29	20
All salaries	$406	$185	$184
Provisions	169	133	98
Clothing	35	27	19
Fuel and light	101	105	42
Miscellaneous	162	78	116
Total	$873	$528	$459

food raised on the farm is not charged into the food account. We made an attempt to evaluate as accurately as possible farm and garden products consumed by the institution, to add their value to the food costs and to subtract a corresponding amount from the farm expenses.

These 20 schools—for which, in addition to general and teachers' salaries we give average expenditures for provisions, clothing, fuel and light, and miscellaneous items—include six schools in the Eastern Section, six in the Southern, five in the Midwestern, and three in the Mountain and Coast Section. The years covered were either the fiscal year 1921 or 1922.

Of the 20 training schools for girls included in Tables 5 and 6, four have per capita current expenditures of less than $350. They are the State Training School for Girls, Birmingham, Alabama; The Girls' Industrial School, Delaware, Ohio; National Training School for Girls, Washington, D. C.; and the Tennessee Vocational School for Girls at Tullahoma. Four schools have per capita current expenditures of more than $750, namely, the California School for Girls at Ventura; the Girls' Training School, Gainesville, Texas; Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut; and the State Industrial Home for Girls, Adrian, Michigan.

TABLE 6.—CURRENT EXPENSES PER GIRL BY SECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY IN TWENTY TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS

Section	Number of schools	Average number of girls	Aggregate current expenses	Current expenses per girl
Eastern	6	1,246	$642,610	$516
Southern	6	538	260,789	485
Midwestern	5	1,853	914,460	494
Mountain and Coast	3	411	259,383	631
All sections	20	4,048	$2,077,242	$513

The average per capita total current expense for these 20 schools (See Table 6) is $513. In three-fourths of them the total amount for salaries constitutes the highest single item of expense, the three that headed this list being the California School for Girls at Ventura; Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut; and the State Industrial Home for Girls, Adrian, Michigan. The per capita expenditures for total salaries in these institutions are all over

$300, and one is over $400 a year. While at the time we visited them one of these schools might have been overstaffed, it is our opinion that the expenditures for salaries for the two others are fully justified by the results obtained from individualized service. In these cases the high per capita sum for salaries should not be considered as overhead expense, but as payment for service and treatment. The three lowest per capita expenditures for salaries were found in the State Training School for Girls, Birmingham, Alabama; the Tennessee Vocational School for Girls at Tullahoma; and the Girls' Industrial School, Delaware, Ohio. In all of these there was need of additional workers and of higher salaries for specialists.

Many of the better schools plan to allot from one-third to one-half of the money available for current expenditures to salaries of workers. In one school the amount spent was less than one-fourth of the total current expenditures.

The amount allowed for provisions is the second highest single item. In the majority of the schools it is not exceeded by any other current expenditure except salaries. The highest per capita expenditures for provisions in these 20 schools were found in the Girls' Training School, Gainesville, Texas; Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut; California School for Girls at Ventura; and the State Home and Industrial School for Girls and Women, Samarcand, North Carolina. A high food per capita cost should usually be commended. Many of these schools rightly believe that good food is essential to the task of rebuilding these delinquent girls, not only for reasons of health, but because they will not be content and happy without variety. In one or two cases high per capita food cost is explained by the fact that very little farm work is done by the girls and that the employment of men on the farm increases the cost of farm products consumed. The lowest per capita food costs were in the National Training School for Girls, Washington, D. C.; State Training School for Girls, Birmingham, Alabama; Tennessee Vocational School for Girls at Tullahoma; and the Girls' Industrial School, Delaware, Ohio.

Many more detailed interesting comparisons are possible in the material supplied in Tables 5 and 6. The dangers and limitations in drawing such comparisons, however, should be very carefully

borne in mind. Boards and superintendents will no doubt be interested in seeing how their per capita expenditures for the various items given compare with those of their own section, and of the country, also with those of the 20 selected schools.

In our opinion considering the training schools for girls in the United States as a whole, there is no basis for criticism of too high current expenditures, and in fact the per capita expenses for a number of schools are too low, if the highest type of work is to be expected. The re-education of unadjusted and disadvantaged girls should be thought of as an expensive, but worth-while task.

CHAPTER VIII

RECORDS

THE keeping of records in these schools as a whole is not so much emphasized as in similar institutions for boys. As a group the superintendents of the girls' schools are much more interested in other phases of the work, and records are given a secondary place. Many schools are understaffed, and if there is too much work to be accomplished in a day the keeping of records is the thing left undone. A number of superintendents said decisively that whenever there is any choice "the girl always comes first." The records of a few, however, are inadequate or poor, not so much because of insufficient clerical assistance, as from the fact that officers see little value in recording many details. There are exceptions, where training schools have good record systems. We considered that in two or three institutions certain records were too involved and complicated. In these instances the state required the use of many blanks and forms, which greatly increased the work of the institution without, in our judgment, adding to its efficiency. This sort of "red tape" should be avoided.

Importance in Institutions

There is much to be said for the position of the superintendent with no clerical assistance who places the girl ahead of the written record. On the other hand, the one who sees no value in records does not have full understanding of the factors involved. There would seem to be at least four main reasons why records are important in any institution, including a training school for girls.

As Safeguards. First, they are essential as safeguards, both for the child and the institution. Memory is deceptive and, of course, there are many staff changes in institutions. For each child there should be a written record, giving identifying information, essential points of family history and definite data regarding the final disposition. A child's happiness and financial welfare may hinge

on such a complete record's having been kept by an institution. To the institution itself there is a safeguard in definite records showing the treatment and discipline given each child, her final disposition, and in accurate financial records. These things are so obvious that they may seem truisms, yet some schools for girls do not meet even these minimum requirements of providing a record system that constitutes a safeguard both for the child and institution.

Aid in Social Treatment. Of course, there should be a record system which goes much further than this. There should be that type of social record which is conducive to better work with the individual child. Each subsequent worker with a girl in a training school should be able to profit by the experience of those who have been working with her. Such a record giving many details would be of much help to a new superintendent in planning further treatment. Moreover, writing out one's views helps to define and clarify them. The work done is thus open to review by others and this tends to the raising of its standard.

Check on Thinking of Worker. A third reason why the right kinds of records are of importance in a girls' school is that they constitute a check on the thinking of the individual worker. They cause her to take stock of what she is doing and what she has accomplished; they make it possible for her to compare methods and plans which have been used with other girls presenting similar problems. She is able to evaluate what she has done for the individual girls. Adequate records tend to stimulate further thinking.

Aid in Research. Finally, the right kinds of records in a training school are of great value as material for research. They should be studied from time to time by members of the staff in order to analyze their own work. They are also of value for study by research agencies together with records of similar institutions in the hope of leading to a greater understanding of the factors involved in these cases and then to ultimate prevention. With this final goal of improved social conditions, the keeping of records is given great social significance and importance. If adequate records of the right type were kept in every training school there would be no better material anywhere for a study of the factors involved

in the behavior problems of children. The material would be of interest not only to other institutions but to juvenile court judges and probation officers, to case workers in preventive agencies and children's organizations, to public school teachers, and to all who wish to understand the child with conduct difficulties.

Record Needs

Main Types Required. In attempting to analyze the different types of records which should be kept by each public institution for delinquent girls, certain minimum requirements stand out. Every such institution should have some form of written record to cover the following:

1. Population statistics
2. Identifying information for each child
3. Changing classifications
4. Social, medical, psychological, and educational records for each child
5. Financial records

The census of children in care and placed out should be complete and be kept up to date. It should include the numbers living in the institution proper, placed in a hospital temporarily, transferred to another institution, paroled, released, escaped, and those who have died. On the basis of these data, if kept in cumulative form, monthly and annual reports can be readily compiled. On any one day it should be possible without much effort to learn the exact names and number of children who are on parole, in hospitals, who have run away, and so forth.

The identifying information for each child includes her full name, date of birth, color, full names of parents, address of family or nearest relative, the name and address of committing judge, and the reason given for commitment.

Changing classifications for each girl should be carefully recorded. This should include all changes in cottage assignments, in work details, prevocational classes, and school grades. After a girl leaves the institution this information should be kept permanently in the folder containing all her records. It will show the exact days, for example, she may have spent in the hospital or engaged in certain work, the latter constituting proof that she

had not been kept on any type of employment for too long a period. These records illustrate what we meant when we said that records are essential for safeguarding both the girl and the institution.

With every girl sent by a court there should, of course, come a court commitment, to be carefully preserved in the institution. Ideally, a complete social history, both from the court and from social agencies that have been interested in the child, should accompany this commitment. These data received on the girl's entrance should not be considered a sufficient social record; they are only a beginning. The superintendent's first interview with the girl, and with her family when they come to visit her, should be recorded. Additional information regarding the family and home situation can thus be obtained. If an agent of the institution makes a visit to the girl's home soon after her commitment, the data she secures and her impressions will form an important part of the social case record. It has been found convenient to record major facts on face sheets, and a beginning has been made in a few schools in keeping narrative case histories (similar to those kept by all high-grade, community case work agencies) which records attempt to give a picture of the girl and her problems. In this narrative should be entered everything of importance concerning the girl and what is being done for her in the institution. It is here that one looks for discussion of the plans of treatment and of projects for the individual.

As a part of the social record, there should be complete reports from the parole agent, showing the situation found on her visit to the girl on parole. These should not only state facts but should portray the girl's reactions toward community living and give an idea of how the plan made for her is working out. At the end of her report the parole agent should add her suggestions for the future. If the parole department is a separate undertaking, as in Massachusetts, the girl's social record remains at the institution, and the parole reports with *additional social data* are filed in the office of the parole department. The department, however, may send copies of part of its records to the institution. The report of the investigation of a home other than her own, under consideration for a girl on parole, should be filed in a separate folder. A home rejected for one child may be used for another and the information

in regard to it, if filed separately from the girl's case history, is immediately available.

A school should have a medical sheet for each girl, to be filled out either by the physician or nurse. It has generally been found advisable to have on this sheet spaces to check the positive or negative conditions in respect to enumerated factors. This saves the time of the nurse or doctor and also indicates the thoroughness of the examination. In a school with a large enough staff it is well to have a clinical secretary or stenographer for the clerical work. Medical sheets should provide space not only for the findings of the first examinations but for re-examinations; for treatments prescribed and carried out, as well as for diagnoses. These training schools for girls need special forms for recording venereal diseases, showing diagnoses and treatments in detail.

The psychological records should include both the forms used in mental tests and a complete narrative report of findings of the psychologist or psychiatrist, together with recommendations of that specialist. These findings should be so interpreted in the record that a lay person might be able to benefit from them and to help carry out the plan outlined.

Educational records also should be filed for each girl. These should include the reports from academic and vocational teachers, giving not only the grades attained but the views of teachers regarding their pupils' responses and progress.

A final type of social record which should be kept for each girl is one which shows the development of traits of character. A conduct record should show gains in positive factors, *not merely relapses and punishments*. This record should include reports from the cottage mother, teachers, the recreation director, and others who work closely with the girl. It is questionable whether any cut-and-dried method of giving each girl exact grades on character qualities is either scientific or worth while. An account of just what she did in respect to a given situation may indicate the absence or possession of certain desirable qualities. This kind of information can never be shown solely by grades or by stating, for example, that a girl is "good," "fair," or "poor" in honesty, truthfulness, or unselfishness.

All the various types of social records indicated above will con-

tribute greatly toward the understanding of a girl's problems. They should constitute invaluable means in the making of proper plans for the individual; also form the basis of scientific research, where the aim is the ultimate prevention of conditions and factors which made it necessary to send these girls to state correctional institutions.

Another type of record obviously needed is that which provides an adequate and accurate statement of the finances of the institution. The bookkeeping need not be elaborate, but should be of a type approved by the state authorities that supervise the institution. All books should be audited at least once yearly by an outside certified accountant. Both income and expenditures should be so classified that at the close of any month, without a great deal of effort, it would be possible to learn the exact financial situation. The books should show the true sources and amount of income and what was paid for various types of commodities and services. A monthly financial report should be submitted to the board and a copy kept on file. Where the bookkeeping is not done at the institution, but in the office of the treasurer of the board, the same points hold good regarding the type of record needed.

If the institution has a farm, accurate records should show the amounts and value of products raised and the amounts consumed. It is questionable whether an elaborate system of selling the products back to the institution is necessary, but it should be possible to learn the actual cost of raising these farm products, including the cost of labor and farm supplies.

Suitable Forms for Records. The form or forms in which all the above records may be kept, including population data, identifying information, changing classifications, social case records of each child, and financial bookkeeping, will vary somewhat with the institution. The needs of each school should be considered, forms used in other institutions studied, and then a system evolved which will best meet the particular situation. There are some general tendencies, however, which may be mentioned here. While ledgers and books are still used for certain types of information, for most purposes cards and folders kept in files have largely replaced ledgers. This is true in business houses, public schools, social agencies, and institutions. Visible records on revolving standards are often time

savers, and various mechanical aids, as colored clips and pins for maps help to visualize the work.

Present Situation

With these general statements in mind, it will now be of interest to see what types of records are used in the 57 schools for girls. Beginning with the most simple type of information, how many schools keep records giving a complete census of the children in care, transferred, paroled, and released?

Keeping of Census	Number of Schools	
Complete census		
Kept in institution	38	
Part of records kept outside institution	2	40
No complete census		17
Total schools		57

Among the 17 schools which do not keep records showing the exact situation regarding the number of girls on parole, transferred to other institutions, discharged, and so forth, are some which do excellent work with the individual girl. Nevertheless, while that is more important, every institution should manage to keep records which at least give an accurate census.

The situation in respect to changing classifications may be shown as follows:

Records of Changing Classification	Number of Schools
Written records showing classifications	21
Records of work details only	4
Some records, but not complete	2
No records or no classifications	30
Total schools	57

It is noted that over one-half of the schools do not keep written records of classifications, or else there are no classifications. Included among the schools that have written records showing cottage assignments, work details, school grades, and so forth, are the State School for Girls, Hallowell, Maine; Industrial School for Girls, Lancaster, Massachusetts; New York State Training School

for Girls at Hudson; Samarcand Manor, Samarcand, North Carolina; Girls' Training School, Gainesville, Texas; The Girls' Industrial School, Delaware, Ohio; Indiana Girls' School at Clermont; Home School for Girls, Sauk Center, Minnesota; Colorado State Industrial School for Girls at Mount Morrison; and the California School for Girls at Ventura.

We made a special effort to learn the number of institutions that customarily receive case histories from the court with each committed girl.

Case Histories Sent by Courts	Number of Schools
Case history sent with each girl	17
Case history sometimes sent, but not always	24
No case history sent	16
Total schools	57

It appears that in approximately one-third only of the schools (17 of 57) are case histories received with every girl committed from every court in the state. In other instances the court commitment, of course, contains some identifying information, but no data are sent to the institution which would help in understanding the girl's problems. Of course, the amount of information supplied and the value of the case history sent vary considerably between states and among the various courts within one state. It is doubtful in a number of instances whether the investigation made by the committing court is sufficient to give great value to any case summary that might be sent to the institution. Some superintendents send a form to the courts which the latter fill out and forward with each girl committed.

Of the 57 institutions 49 keep a separate social case history for each girl in care. The amount of information, the way it is recorded, and the value of the case work which it represents vary greatly between schools. Among the institutions which have good or largely satisfactory social case records are the following: Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut; Sleighton Farm, Darlington, Pennsylvania; Arkansas Training School for Girls at Alexander; Girls' Training School, Gainesville, Texas; State Industrial Home for Girls, Adrian, Michigan; El Retiro, San Fernando, California.

Medical Records Kept	Number of Schools
Reasonably satisfactory medical records	34
Unsatisfactory or inadequate records	7
No written medical records	16
Total schools	57

It is surprising that in more than one-fourth of these institutions there are no written medical records. Among the schools with fairly satisfactory written medical records are: the Industrial School for Girls, Lancaster, Massachusetts; New York State Training School for Girls, at Hudson; Girls' Training School, Gainesville, Texas; Samarcand Manor, Samarcand, North Carolina; State Training School for Girls, Geneva, Illinois; Indiana Girls' School at Clermont; Colorado State Industrial School for Girls at Mount Morrison.

Of the 57 schools, 26 (nearly half) have written psychological records. Some are the product of the psychological service at the institution; others come from outside psychologists and psychiatrists. In some instances only filled-in testing cards and score sheets are used, however, with no real summary of the case nor a complete picture of the child's mental make-up.

The situation in reference to the financial bookkeeping may be shown as follows:

Situation in Respect to Bookkeeping	Number of Schools
Bookkeeping done at institution	35
Some accounts kept at institution, but not real bookkeeping	4
All bookkeeping done outside the institution	18
Total schools	57

The number of schools which keep written farm records may thus be summarized:

Keeping of Farm Records	Number of Schools
Written records kept of amounts and values of farm products	40
No farm records kept	6
Institution maintains no farm	11
Total schools	57

In reference to all the records—population, social, and financial—we attempted to learn whether as a whole they were kept up to date. The general situation in this respect is shown below:

Records	Number of Schools
Records kept up to date	38
Records not kept up to date	15
Almost no records kept	4
Total schools	57

So far we have been speaking of the types of records now in use in these schools and whether they were kept up to date. An additional statement should be made regarding the forms used. The large majority of these girls' schools have a card and folder system but a few keep their only written records in large ledgers. It is customary to record the identifying information on cards, filed alphabetically. Each card is given a number which corresponds with that of the girl's folder. These folders are then filed numerically. In the schools having records that cover various phases of the work, the folder for each girl generally contains the court commitment, the social history sent by the court and other outside agencies, the social history sheet filled out in the institution, the narrative social record, psychological records, conduct reports, school reports, and correspondence. In most instances the medical blanks are kept in the hospital office until the girl is paroled, when they are transferred to the girl's folder. Often parole reports are filed separately though sometimes they are also kept in the girl's general folder.

Recommendations

In summarizing our conclusions regarding the records in these girls' schools, we want to emphasize again the importance of a system planned to meet the needs of the particular institution. It is doubtful whether standardized forms would be desirable, even if it were possible to devise and to secure their adoption. Greatest emphasis should be given to the records that present a picture of the child; that is, the social, medical, psychological, educational, and conduct records.

In many states it would doubtless be practicable to use the

social service exchanges in the leading cities from which girls come to the institution. If the name of the girl were cleared through the social service exchange in the city where she formerly lived, an institution would probably be able to secure from the reporting agencies additional social information of value in understanding a girl's problems. Since all records to be of value should be kept up to date, a sufficient clerical force is needed.

Some Forms Used

Copies of some record forms which we found in use in the girls' schools are printed in Appendix C[1]. They are not necessarily ideal, and others quite different but probably just as valuable were found in other schools. These were chosen because they illustrate some of the questions we have discussed in this chapter, because they meet so well the needs of the schools now using them, and because they are worthy of careful study by all superintendents.

[1] See p. 421.

PART II

THE GIRL: HER PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CARE

CHAPTER IX

GENERAL MEDICAL SERVICE

MEDICAL service is one of the most important features of the work in a school for delinquent girls. It is largely futile to try to develop character in, and provide prevocational training for, girls with serious physical defects unless at the same time an adequate medical program is being carried out. If they are to be returned to their communities able to cope with the problems there, it is essential that they have sound physical health. The movement to secure for these children better and more extensive medical work, with the service of competent and interested physicians, preferably resident, is in line with the value placed on public health work in the world at large.

Underlying Principles

Four main ideas seem to underlie the medical service in these institutions. To a certain extent these ideas show the progress from the simpler to the more complex principles governing the contribution of medical science to the work. On the other hand, an institution of the highest grade has a medical service based on all four of them.

First, Safeguard the Group. One of the earliest principles behind the introduction of medical work in institutions for children was to protect the larger group from the few with contagious or infectious diseases. The moment you gather children from different families and communities to live together, the danger of transmission of disease arises. To meet this situation, institutions introduced physical examinations upon admission, and in some cases insisted on such examinations prior to the children's being sent to the institution. New girls are often isolated in receiving cottages or hospitals until the period for incubation for contagious diseases has passed.

Second, Remedy Defects. In the course of routine physical exam-

inations made for the reason cited above, children were found with diseases and physical defects which needed to be treated and cured. To do this work, resident and regular visiting physicians were secured.

Third, Keep the Girls Well. Gradually from these more or less negative points of view arose the idea of medical service of a high grade to build up the health of the girls so that they might develop into strong, vigorous women. At this point preventive medicine and positive health measures were employed. A progressive institution does not wait until a girl becomes ill, but conducts periodic examinations of all pupils in order to discover early symptoms, to prevent their development into serious physical defects or diseases, and in general to keep the girls well.

Fourth, Causal Relation of Physical Condition to Conduct. The newest conception of a medical service in these schools is that it should assist in the understanding of the delinquencies of the individual girl. It is only fair to say that this point of view has been but partly developed as yet, but the value of a thorough medical service as a means of discovering factors that bear a causal relationship to antisocial conduct cannot be overestimated. As a step in this direction, numerous institutions now accept the idea that certain physical conditions, such as defective eyesight and hearing, decayed teeth, and nasal obstructions, bear a close relationship to conduct, and that when they have been corrected it is much easier to influence the conduct of a child. Certain other conditions not now receiving great attention in these training schools, such as posture, no doubt also have a direct bearing on antisocial conduct. There is also some interest in the possibilities of glandular treatment based on the idea that abnormality in behavior may be due, fully or in part, to overactivity or underactivity of the glands. This subject needs further study and research. Probably there is no better laboratory than a juvenile training school. This fact was recognized in North Carolina when a special study was made of 42 girls at Samarcand Manor by Dr. R. McBrayer and his assistants, who gave special attention to the endocrine glands.[1]

[1] "The Endocrine Glands and Immorality—Based on a Review of the Literature and the Physical Examination, Blood Sugar and Basal Metabolic Rate Findings in Forty-two Morally Delinquent Young Women." In Transactions of Medical Society of the State of North Carolina, 1922.

The basic functions of a training school for girls are a scientific study and an adequate program of treatment and re-education of the individual child with behavior difficulties. Such a study should include a thorough physical examination, mental tests and ratings by "intelligence levels," a study of the child's habits—physical and mental—of her personality, emotional life, and a search for all the social influences and forces which may bear a causal relationship to her behavior. The final plan for treatment and re-education of the individual should be based on at least three main inquiries, those of the physician, the psychologist or psychiatrist, and the social case worker. Probably the easiest part of the study of the individual delinquent, and the one most commonly found, is the medical. This is partly because this phase of the study is more definite, more easily understood, and because efforts in this field have been more generally undertaken. There is also the factor that medical experts can be secured with less difficulty than can specialists for some of the other aspects of this study of the individual delinquent.

The medical work of these schools is especially vital, not only because it should be an important part of the scientific study of each pupil, with the aim of planning treatment and means of adjustment for the individual, but also because the past experiences of many of these girls have subjected them to special dangers of infection. According to one of the superintendents, the problem of the delinquent girl in a large number of cases is "primarily a sex problem"; the "presence of venereal diseases makes a good medical department indispensable." It is also true that many come from homes of poor grade, where their health has been neglected and they arrive at the institution with grave physical conditions needing attention. In the few training schools that maintain a maternity service, and provide care for babies, there is obviously special need of very high grade medical work.

Medical Service Provided

While excellent medical work is being done in a few institutions, in some it is very unsatisfactory both in quality and extent. Neither is the health of the pupils established, nor is there any sound contribution to study and treatment. The superintendents of these

girls' schools are practically unanimous in asserting that curative and remedial medical work is necessary; a considerable number realize the need of preventive health measures to keep girls well, and an increasing number appreciate the value of a medical service of such type and comprehensiveness as will be of assistance in the search for causal factors in the behavior difficulties of a child.

Type of Provision. Before undertaking to discuss tentative medical standards we should know the nature and adequacy of the work that is being done. The type of medical service available in these girls' schools may be summarized as follows:

Provisions for Medical Service	Number of Schools
Resident physician	7[a]
Regular visiting physician on payroll	28
Physician subject to call and paid by year	1
Physician subject to call and paid for work done	10
Outside clinics used	5
Practically no medical service	6
Total schools	57

[a] The New York State Training School for Girls at Hudson has two resident graduate women physicians.

Seven schools employ eight resident, full-time physicians, all women. They are found in the state training schools of Pennsylvania, New York, Michigan, Illinois, Minnesota, Texas, and California. In three institutions the superintendent is also a physician. Most of the 28 regular visiting physicians are men; generally women are not available.

Nature of Service. In three-fourths (42 of 57) of the schools there are routine physical examinations for all new girls upon admission. In some cases there are also routine examinations for returned runaways, girls returned from parole, and for those about to be paroled or released. In a few (especially county and municipal schools) which have no routine physical examinations at the institutions, such work is performed at the courts or in special clinics before the girls are sent to the training school.

The thoroughness of the examination of newly admitted girls varies greatly in different schools. In many the girls do not entirely undress, which prevents a complete examination. In some

Swimming Hour at El Retiro

Building Health at El Retiro

we felt that only obvious defects and diseases were noted. In one small institution for colored girls where we inquired of the visiting physician regarding the prevalence of venereal disease, he did not seem to understand what we were talking about. In one large southern training school, which cares for both boys and girls, the superintendent had formerly operated a drug store and considered himself as competent as a physician to diagnose and recommend treatment. Here the medical situation was one of the most serious that we observed. A certain southwestern county institution employs no regular physician, no nurse, and makes neither routine physical examination of girls on entrance nor routine venereal tests. "In case of need" the county physician is called upon. A short time before our study the superintendent had found open sores on two girls. These were sent to the county physician for treatment and were sleeping apart from the group. No steps had been taken to examine or make special tests of the other girls who had been living with the two found to be infected.

A large southern state school employed no regular physician and no nurse. The superintendent said she called a physician "in case of necessity," who was paid for work done. She reported that her girls were so well that she had no use for a nurse. No routine medical examinations of girls were made after entrance to the institution, but under a state law a medical certificate must come with each new girl. The physician who has examined the girl prior to her entering the school is supposed to have taken a Wassermann and a vaginal smear, but in practice these tests are not always made. The superintendent said if she was "suspicious" of conditions she had them made.

In another large state training school which previously had had practically no medical service, a nurse had been added to the staff about two months before our study. In cases of serious illness only had a physician been called. At the time of our visit the capable graduate nurse was trying as best she could to organize the medical work against great handicaps. There had been no routine entrance examinations nor routine venereal tests. She was securing examinations and tests as rapidly as possible. Up to date 12 active gonorrheal cases and 4 active syphilitic cases had been found. The nurse said that probably additional cases of

venereal diseases would be discovered when the tests had been made for the entire group.

In a number of these training schools for girls, however, medical service is much more complete than in the average public institution and is of high grade. A brief account of the service in five or six schools, included in the group doing good work, will be of interest.

The Girls' Training School at Gainesville, Texas, at the time of our study employed a resident graduate woman physician in addition to the superintendent, who herself was a graduate physician, and two pupil nurses. Generally, there was also a graduate nurse. The hospital, situated in a cottage building, is so constructed as to be largely separate from the remainder of the cottage. The hospital contains an operating room, a sterilizing room, a douche room, laboratory, physician's office, nurse's room, diet kitchen, four single rooms for girls, and a sleeping porch. An additional treatment room is situated in a special cottage where venereally diseased girls live. After treatment in their own cottage they go to their rooms for an hour's rest. As a routine matter, each new girl is given a thorough physical examination, weighed and measured, and is weighed every three months thereafter. A Schick test for diphtheria, a throat culture, a Wassermann, and a smear are taken as a routine; a blood count and urinalysis are generally, though not always, made. All analyses, except Wassermann, are performed in the school's laboratory. All gonorrheal slides are carefully preserved and filed for reference. Every girl confined in a room for punishment is seen by the resident physician daily and is given any necessary treatment.

In the New York State Training School for Girls at Hudson a resident woman physician obtains from each new girl a complete social and personal history with an account in the girl's own words of past conduct. The patient is then stripped and examined from head to foot. She is weighed and measured on admission, again when about to be paroled, and in special instances. A careful gynecological examination, a smear, Wassermann, and throat culture are routine matters. Vaccinations are also routine and Schick tests are made in special cases. All of these are performed by the resident woman physician who refers the new girl to the visiting eye, ear, nose and throat specialists and the visiting dentist.

Physical examinations are routine also for returned girls and for those about to be paroled. For gonorrhea, girls are given local treatments and douches by a resident woman physician, after which they rest in bed. For syphilis the girls are given mixed mercury treatment, neosalvarsan and silver salvarsan treatments; in the infectious stage of a venereal disease a girl is kept in a hospital room in quarantine. Those under treatment who do not need to live in the hospital are all cared for in one cottage. A girl who has ever been treated for a venereal disease, or whose test has ever been positive, returns for re-examination and for retesting at intervals. In each cottage records are kept of constipation and of menstruation of all girls in the group. These records are brought to the chief physician once a month. The school has a very well-equipped general hospital; also a small separate contagious hospital. The former contains a medical clinic room, dental clinic room, operating room, laboratory, oculist's light and dark rooms, sterilizing room, waiting room for girls, dressing room for girls, physicians' office, two diet kitchens, nurses' rooms, single rooms for girls, and bathrooms.

In the Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster, Massachusetts, a routine physical examination is made and a Wassermann and smear are taken by a visiting man physician (who comes to the institution daily) of every newly admitted girl and of every one about to be paroled. This physician also sees all girls referred to him by the nurses, and those whom he has asked to return for re-examinations, tests, or treatments. All are weighed and measured when they enter, when they leave, and in special cases. Every new girl is seen by an eye, ear, nose and throat specialist, who comes to the school twice a month. He performs minor operations in the institution's hospital; major operations are taken to outside hospitals. Use is made of the orthopedic, skin, and other clinics of the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston. Both visiting physicians are on the monthly payroll and are assisted by two nurses who have had some hospital training. The more experienced nurse gives neo-arsenphenolamin treatment to syphilitic cases, and the physician, injections of bichloridal; he also gives local treatments for gonorrhea. No girl is permitted to give herself or another girl a douche; this is done by a nurse in a basement treat-

ment room in the hospital building. This building offers fairly satisfactory provisions for isolation.

The California School for Girls at Ventura at the time of our study had a resident, full-time woman physician in addition to the superintendent, who was a graduate physician. It possessed a well-equipped hospital building. As a routine matter, for all girls on admission, there are general physical examinations, blood tests and slides; also weighing and measuring. Before a new girl is permitted to leave the hospital to go to a cottage to live she must have a negative throat culture, three negative smears, and one negative Wassermann.

In the State Industrial Home for Girls at Adrian, Michigan, at the time of our study there was a resident, full-time woman physician, a graduate of the Medical Department of the University of

George B. McDougall, Architect

California School for Girls, Ventura
Hospital Cottage—Front Elevation

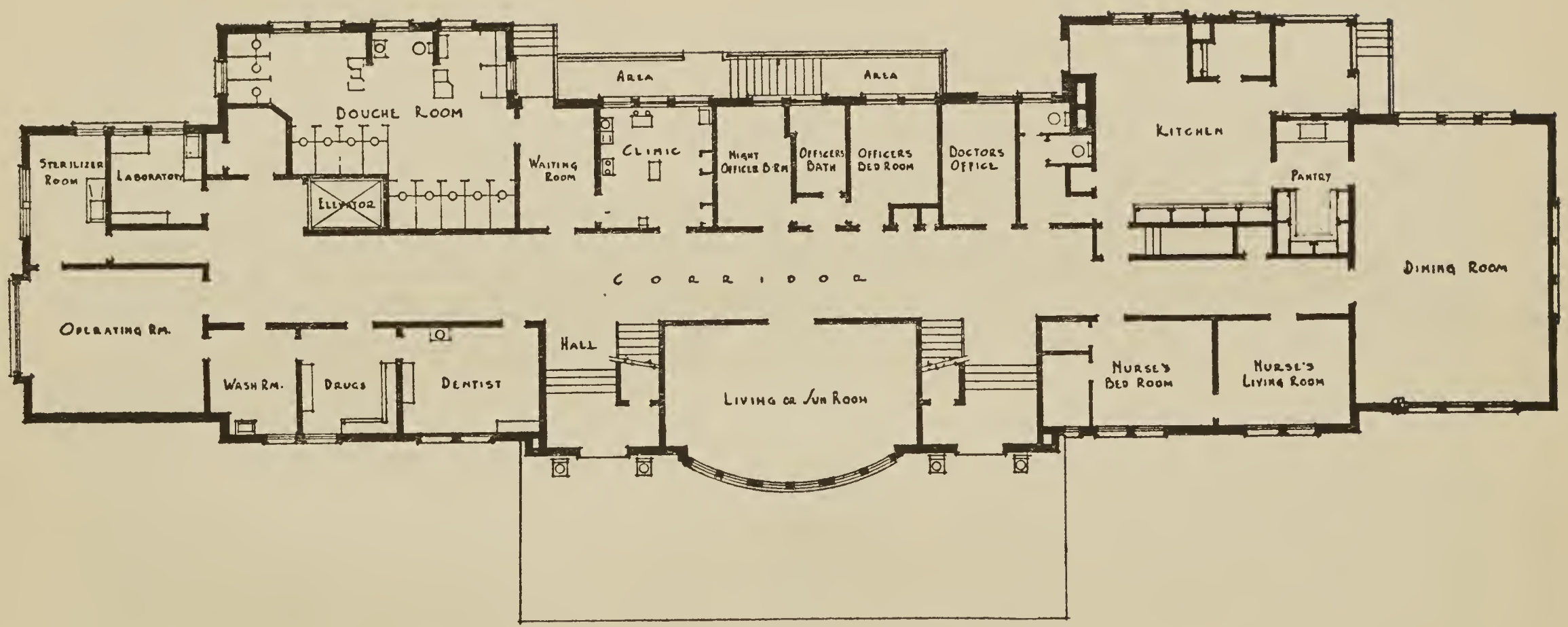
Michigan; a graduate nurse to assist her in the hospital, and a practical nurse in charge of the reception department. On entrance each new girl is given a thorough physical examination, and various special tests are taken including a Wassermann, smear, urinalysis, Schick test, and vaccination. She is weighed and measured and if losing weight this is followed up. Subsequent examinations are not routine but girls with venereal diseases are carefully watched. They live in a separate cottage, going to the hospital regularly for treatments. All douches are given there. Girls entering gymnasium and swimming classes are given special medical examinations. Obstetric and major surgical cases are sent to the State University Hospital. A nose and throat specialist from the State Department of Health performs tonsil and adenoid operations.

In the State Training School for Girls at Geneva, Illinois, new

girls on admission receive thorough routine physical examinations by the resident woman physician who vaccinates all not vaccinated, takes a smear, a Wassermann, and makes a urinalysis. All girls who on admission have negative reactions are recalled by the doctor for a second test a month later, and gonorrheal cases dismissed from treatment as non-infectious report for routine monthly examinations. Each morning a clinic is held at the hospital by the physician, assisted by two practical nurses. Treatments are given both in the hospital and in one of the cottages which the nurse visits regularly. There are two cottages which care for gonorrheal cases exclusively, two other cottages for girls who have both gonorrhea and syphilis, and one cottage for girls with syphilis but not gonorrhea. Some active syphilitic cases live for a time in the hospital proper. Ear cases are sent to a dispensary in Chicago. Special eye cases are examined by a visiting oculist from the Illinois Eye and Ear Infirmary. There is a state surgeon in Illinois for all state institutions. All minor and some major surgery on these girls is performed at the training school.

These examples show not only the nature and extent of the routine medical service available in the better institutions for delinquent girls, but the special tests given in some schools. Weighing and measuring of new girls on admission are practically universal in the schools which have a regular medical service, but are not repeated at stipulated intervals except in special cases. The tests most commonly found are the Wassermann for syphilis and the smear for gonorrhea. In nearly two-thirds (36 of 57) of the schools there are routine tests for both syphilis and gonorrhea for each newly admitted girl. Three additional institutions give routine tests for gonorrhea but not for syphilis. The next most commonly found special tests, given as a routine matter to all new girls, are throat cultures and vaccinations. Schick tests for diphtheria, urinalyses, and blood counts are found less frequently and only where the medical service is unusually complete. For these tests to be routine is the exception rather than the rule.

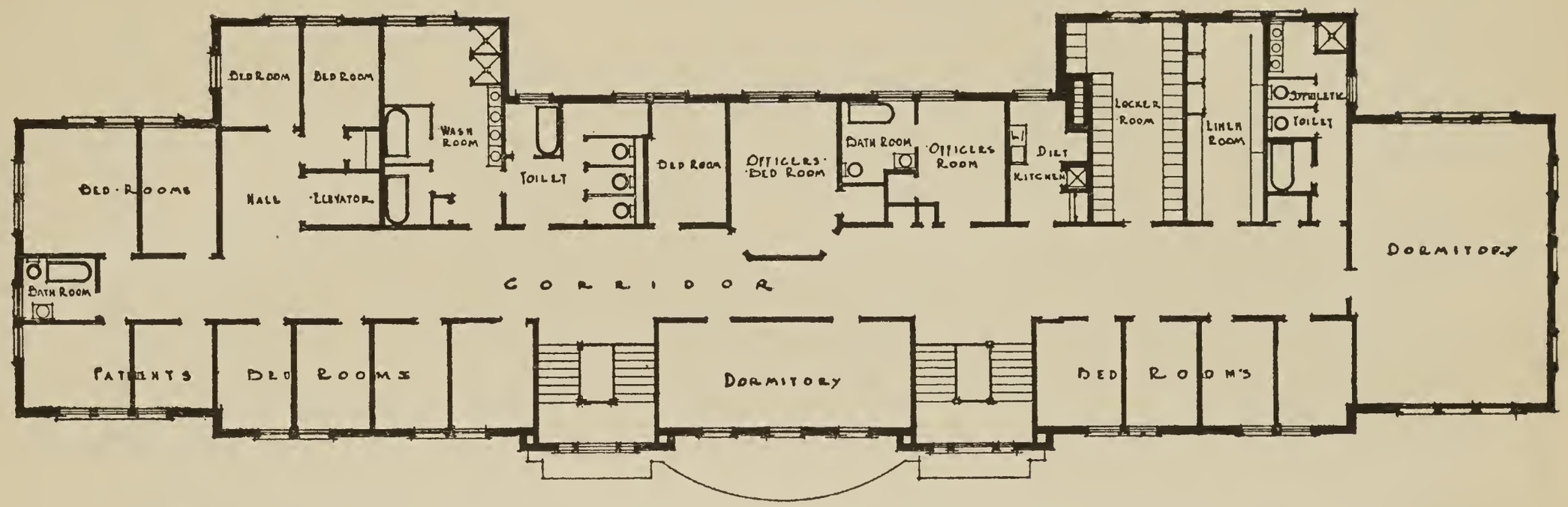
Where resident physicians are employed treatments are often given by them, but where dependence is placed on part-time visiting physicians, many treatments are left to the nurses. In a few cases it seemed to us that a nurse carried some duties which ought to be



FIRST·FLOOR PLAN
SCALE 1/8" = 1'-0"

CALIFORNIA SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, VENTURA
HOSPITAL COTTAGE

A Model Hospital for a Training School for Girls



SECOND FLOOR PLAN
SCALE 16'-1"

CALIFORNIA SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, VENTURA
HOSPITAL COTTAGE

performed only by a graduate physician. In some small schools, and in others where the medical work is not emphasized, treatments are sometimes given by women with only a little practical nursing experience and no hospital training. These practical nurses are generally supervised by visiting physicians.

The medical facilities provided are dependent not only upon the financial resources of the school, but also upon the importance attached to this work by those in charge. Some schools with fairly adequate equipment in other respects are without the needed specialized facilities for medical service. On the other hand, a very few (generally those with resident, full-time physicians) have unusually well-equipped hospitals for public institutions whose function is not exclusively medical. Only 8 of 57 have special hospital buildings. An additional fourth (14 of 57) have special buildings which serve the combined functions of receiving department and hospital. Still other schools have small hospital wings in connection with some other cottage or the administrative building. Fourteen schools have special rooms for examination and treatment but few or no hospital sleeping rooms. Where a clinic room is the only provision for the medical work, sick girls or those under observation, unless sent to an outside hospital, are cared for in their own rooms. Eleven schools do not have even a clinic room. This means that one-fifth (11 of 57) have no special facilities at the institution for carrying out any medical program.

Dental Service Provided

Type of Provision. The question of dental service needs special mention. The types of provision for this service may be seen from the following summary:

Provision for Dental Service	Number of Schools
Resident dentist	1
Regular visiting dentist on payroll	22
Regular visiting dentist—a volunteer	1
Visiting dentist paid for work done	9
Girls sent to outside dentist, paid for work done	15
Girls sent to free outside clinic	7
No dental service	2
Total schools	57

The one resident dentist was a woman, at the State Training School for Girls, Geneva, Illinois. At the Home School for Girls, Sauk Center, Minnesota, a dentist worked and lived in the institution for three days of each week, spending the rest of his time at another state institution. The table shows that two-fifths of the schools (23 of 57) have regular dental service from specialists who receive definite monthly or yearly salaries. In many of the 24 institutions where a dentist is "paid for work done" very little service is given.

Nature of Dental Service. The exact nature of the dental service and its extent differ considerably. In approximately one-half the schools routine examinations of each new girl are made by a dentist. In a few instances, where dental examinations are not routine on admission, all girls are seen by a dentist at intervals—as once in three months, six months, or a year. The majority of institutions which have routine dental examinations on admission do not have subsequent routine examinations. After the first examination a girl returns to the dentist only when referred by the nurse or doctor, or when the dentist makes a special examination of all children in care. Routine cleaning of teeth by a dentist for all girls under care is the exception.

At Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut, in addition to the visiting dentist who spends one full day a week at the school, a woman dental hygienist cleans the girls' teeth twice a year. In the State Industrial Home for Girls, Adrian, Michigan, every girl's teeth are cleaned two or three times yearly. In both of these schools a dentist makes an examination of all new girls' teeth.

In the majority of the schools very little expensive work such as gold plates, bridges, and so forth is undertaken, unless the parents or other individuals pay for the cost of materials. In many schools some permanent work is done, but it is confined to the use of inexpensive materials, such as silver fillings. In a few, emergency work only is undertaken, such as extractions and temporary fillings; the effort being not so much to save the girls' teeth as to tide them over until they leave the institution.

Tentative Standards

Regular Medical Service. The recommendations and standards which we shall outline for medical service are designed especially

to meet the needs of institutions caring for delinquent adolescent girls, but in many particulars they would also apply to other types of children's institutions. The first essential is a resident, full-time graduate woman physician where the average number of girls equals or exceeds 100. One school for girls as stated has two resident women physicians, but probably for many years to come we cannot expect more than one resident physician even in the largest schools. At the time of our study the highest average population for a girls' training school was 478 girls. Such a population would probably warrant the employment of two physicians, since every girl represents a special problem, but it is unlikely that such expenditures would be approved.

In a school with less than 100 girls it is possible to carry on the work without a resident physician if there is regular service of a visiting physician who comes at specific intervals and who gives as much time as is required. Of course, he should also be subject to call in case of special need. There should not be rotation of visiting physicians, because one doctor should see each case through and help in the planning of a continuous program. He or she should be paid a monthly or yearly salary and be responsible to the superintendent. Only in this way can the superintendent depend absolutely upon his services and feel that she has a right to insist upon a proper share of his time. This is essential also in order that the medical service may be correlated with the other work of the training school.

Because of the attitude of the majority of delinquent girls toward men, a woman physician is much to be preferred in these schools. A woman physician is very valuable as an adviser to these girls. In some places, however, one cannot be obtained. A school situated far from a large city must often depend upon the men physicians of a nearby community unless it can afford a full-time resident woman doctor imported from a distance. One dependent upon a visiting man physician should always have a competent nurse (a graduate if possible) to assist him in the clinics and to carry out his recommendations. With a resident full-time physician it is possible to use a nurse who has had hospital training but is not a graduate.

Special Facilities. These resident or visiting doctors and resi-

dent nurses must have facilities with which to carry on the medical program. Where medical work is carried on at the institution, a minimum requirement is one room set aside for clinic and treatment purposes and one in which a girl may be isolated. In a very small institution where girls are sent to outside clinics or physicians for examinations and treatments, it is possible to manage without even these, provided the girls are housed in single rooms where some degree of isolation is possible and where a nearby hospital will accept all who are seriously ill. If a visiting physician comes to make examinations a room should be equipped as a clinic. He should not give a girl a complete first examination in her own sleeping room. In a room reserved for the purpose and specially equipped, the procedure will appear more formal, dignified, and important, and a higher grade of work will probably be obtained.

For schools located in rural sections far from good hospitals, it is more important that medical provisions be extensive and equipment complete. Otherwise, high-grade work will not be possible. Minor and major operations require an operating room with suitable equipment. Every institution with any provision for medical service at the institution should have the necessary instruments for examination and treatment and the needed utensils and other equipment for the care of sick girls. A small hospital suite in a building used for other purposes should have a separate hall and a separate outside entrance. The majority of superintendents feel that newly received girls should live apart for the first ten days or two weeks. If they live in the hospital, instead of in a receiving cottage, care should be observed to prevent new girls in isolation and sick girls in the hospital from coming in contact with one another.

Routine Examinations. It is safe to lay down as a minimum requirement that every school should provide a complete examination for each new girl, even where a medical certificate comes with her showing that she has been examined at a juvenile court clinic or elsewhere prior to coming to the institution. The previous medical examination may protect the institution from contagious diseases; but will not give the workers who must evolve a plan of training and re-education for the girl all the information needed. In many cases it is also doubtful whether these previous examina-

tions are as thorough as they should be, and whether the necessary special tests have been made.

In the general physical examination on entrance a girl should be undressed and examined from head to foot. This is vital, if all conditions affecting her health or conduct are to be discovered. In some training schools a sheet is thrown about the girl's shoulders and in a few a special examining robe is worn, which permits necessary adjustments. Before beginning the physical examination proper, the weight and height should be obtained and recorded, the condition of the scalp and hair noted. The nose should be carefully examined for any obstruction or discharge; the mouth, for the condition and size of tonsils, the presence of adenoids, and general state of the teeth. The lungs should be carefully tested for any suggestion of a tuberculous condition, and the heart not only for actual defects, but for size and so forth. Posture should be studied and any curvature of the spine noted; the skin observed for eruptions, pigments, texture, and color, and the feet examined for fallen arches or other conditions which may affect general vigor and possible activities. For the abdominal region the girl should lie down on an examining table and be examined for tenderness in the regions of the appendix and gall bladder, and for any enlargement of the liver or spleen. The routine required gynecological examination should include a vaginal or cervical smear and attention to any signs which indicate that the girl is a masturbator or is addicted to homo-sexual practices. The aim is not only to discover every physical condition which needs to be remedied, but to learn of any factor which may bear a relationship to the conduct difficulties in the individual.

The general plan of physical examination used by the Bureau of Children's Guidance (maintained under the Commonwealth Fund) in New York is comprehensive and well worked out. The following general headings and subheadings for the physical summary here submitted were employed by the Bureau in Mary B. Sayles's study of the girl and two boys who were the subjects of the publication, Three Problem Children: Narratives from the Case Records of a Child Guidance Clinic.[1]

[1] Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, Publication No. 2, New York (n. d.).

PHYSICAL SUMMARY

- General Appearance
- Stigmata
- Skeletal Development
  - Skull
  - Jaw
  - Face
  - Trunk
  - Spine
  - Hands
  - Feet
  - Grip
- Tegmental System
  - Skin
  - Vasomotor disturbances
  - Hair
  - Eyebrows
  - Nails
  - Teeth
  - Gums
- Joints and Ligaments
- Muscles
- Gonads
- Secondary Sexual Characteristics
- Mammæ
- Glands
- Thoracic Cavity
  - Lungs
  - Heart
- Abdominal Viscera
- Genito-Urinary System
- Subjective Complaints
- Objective Deformities
- Eyes
- Sense of Smell
- Other Cranial Nerves
- Reflexes

Every girl who is returned to the institution after an absence of even a few hours should be seen by the physician. This will include runaways, girls returned from visits to their homes and returned paroled girls. The completeness of the physician's examination should depend on various factors—the length of time the girl was outside the institution, her history during this period, and so forth. For example, if a girl ran away, but was gone not more than an hour or so and it was definitely known just what happened in the interim, she would not need the same extensive examination which had been given when she first entered. However, unless she had been absent only a very brief period and it was definitely known just where and with whom she had been, it would probably be safer to take a smear.

A girl who has failed on parole and has been away from the institution for some months should probably be given a complete general examination. One about to be placed by the institution, whether paroled or discharged, should have as thorough an examination as the initial one already described. None should be

allowed to leave until every remediable defect has been properly taken care of.

Recommendations Carried Out. Where there are careful routine examinations on entrance, subsequent special and periodic examinations may depend on the judgment of nurses who are in close touch with the girls. If there is no such detailed medical service, however, it would be well for a visiting doctor to examine every girl twice a year. Obviously, all recommendations made by the physician should be carried out as promptly as possible, and treatment, diet, hygiene, needed surgical operations, and so forth, should be followed as prescribed.

Special Tests. There are many special tests which are advisable for girls in training schools, but of the large number which might be made, a few may be singled out as absolutely essential. A vaginal or a cervical smear and a Wassermann should be taken as matters of routine on entrance to a training school.[1]

It is doubtful whether all young, dependent children need to be subjected as a matter of routine to the taking of a Wassermann. On the other hand, with these older delinquent girls, most of whom have had illicit sex experience before coming to the training schools, a routine test for syphilis is essential. This need not be taken during the first examination, but should be within the first few days. As a minimum requirement, every girl should be vaccinated, unless she shows indications of a successful vaccination. A throat culture should also be taken as a routine matter. Tests for eyesight and hearing should be made as a routine matter by the general visiting physician in an early examination. Whether a child is referred to an oculist or ear specialist should be dependent upon his findings. The same is true of the nose and throat examinations. In a very few training schools, nose and throat specialists are employed who examine every child, but this need not necessarily be prescribed as a minimum standard. It is advisable that Schick tests for diphtheria be made fairly soon after a girl's admission and that immunizing doses of antitoxin be given. If a child is appreciably underweight or noticeably pale, there

[1] Discussing this subject, Dr. Carrie Weaver Smith says, "Vaginal smears are only of value in young children. All girls sufficiently developed to have a speculum inserted should have smears made from the cervix; also from the urethra and Bartholin duct."

should be a blood count. If for any reason the physician is suspicious of conditions, there should be a urinalysis. The last named test could well be given as a matter of routine, though it is not to be considered in the same classification with the absolutely necessary venereal tests. Special tests for tuberculosis should be made of all suspicious cases.

Recommendations for Dental Service. The dental work should have the services of a regular visiting specialist. Ordinarily we could not reasonably expect a full-time resident dentist. Regular service should be provided, however, by a specialist on the monthly payroll, who comes at specified intervals and gives as much time as is necessary to the work. The dentist, as well as the physician, should be responsible to the superintendent of the institution. A woman dentist is much to be desired, but practically unobtainable for most of these schools. A school dependent upon a visiting dentist must usually secure the services of someone in a nearby community. It may be possible to bring in a skilled specialist from a greater distance, if he remains at the institution for several days at a time. As soon as possible, after a new girl enters the institution, her teeth should be examined, as a matter of routine, by the dentist, but as this examination will be made after the general physical examination, the girls may well be taken in the order in which the need of dental treatment is shown on the physician's reports. Subsequent dental examinations should occur at least once in six months for every girl and the girl's teeth should be cleaned at this time. It is not sufficient to make extractions and put in temporary fillings; some permanent dental work should be done. All necessary work for the preservation of the teeth and for the prevention of future difficulties should be carried out immediately.

When a medical service of such comprehensiveness and quality as to meet these various tentative standards is realized in all of the public training schools for delinquent girls in this country, we may reasonably expect more results from our labors with these girls in all phases of this big task of readjustment and re-education.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL HYGIENE

THE subjects of venereal disease, sex education, maternity service, provisions for babies, and physical care of the girls are obviously closely related to the medical work and in some respects really part of it. Since, however, each subject presents a problem of its own, and the treatment of each requires also other kinds of service, these topics will be further discussed in this and the two following chapters.

Questions of venereal disease are especially important in schools for delinquent girls, because many of those committed to these institutions have had illicit sex relationships. Since large numbers enter the institution with evidence of venereal disease; and since others, because of their past life, should be considered suspects in this respect until medical evidence proves beyond reasonable doubt that no such condition exists, an adequate medical service to cover these needs is essential. The institution must meet its responsibility to the girl by arresting the disease at the earliest stage possible. The majority of these girls marry soon after leaving the training school, and many have children. The health of their unborn children must be protected. It is necessary that this problem be met squarely in the institution in order to protect the communities in which these girls will later live. It seems futile to develop highly specialized educational systems, to give the girls vocations, and to provide intensive parole supervision if they are not made physically fit to resume normal lives in the community.

Present Situation

In the course of our study we discovered that it was not unusual for a school to have one-fifth to one-sixth of its pupil population under treatment for gonorrhea or syphilis. An appreciable number

had approximately one-fourth, and some a considerably larger proportion. In a few instances, where the number of girls receiving medical attention for venereal diseases was reported as very small, we felt that there was a close connection between this fact and the lack of an adequate, high-grade medical service. We questioned whether every case needing treatment had been discovered. The proportion with venereal diseases in a training school will, of course, be determined partly by the type of girls sent. In a state where the school is considered a place of last resort only, and not as a means of prevention, a larger proportion of the girls committed will have had promiscuous sex relationships and will be definitely diseased.

A very few schools admit no girl with a venereal disease if her condition is known. In our opinion, such action on the part of the board or legislature is not warranted unless other public facilities exist for the care and treatment of such girls. A state training school may not be properly equipped to handle this problem, but we believe that it has a definite obligation to become so equipped. We cannot distinguish sharply between the medical and disciplinary phases of the rehabilitation of delinquent girls. A regular public hospital may be able to cure the disease, but it cannot reeducate the girl. In most cases we believe that a state training school is the place to send these children, both for medical care and for training.

In one state school in the Middle West, at the time of our visit, 165 girls were receiving regular treatments for gonorrhea and 40 more for syphilis. Sixty girls with gonorrhea were also syphilitic. The total number of individual girls with gonorrhea and syphilis represented practically one-half of the entire population. In another western state school 47 girls were receiving regular treatments for syphilis and four for gonorrhea. Four other girls whose condition was questioned were also under treatment, and still others with suspicious discharges were being given douches. In all, 93 girls were given douches at regular intervals. Of the total population of this school, a little more than one-fourth were known definitely to have syphilis or gonorrhea. In one institution which cares for both girls and their babies, 13 girls were receiving treatment for gonorrhea and two for syphilis. These 15 girls consti-

tuted three-tenths of the population. In one of the larger training schools, with a population at the time of our visit of 263 girls, only seven were definitely known to have any venereal infection. This school gave no routine tests, had no nurse on the staff, and no adequate hospital facilities. The question of the possible existence of venereal disease in a larger number of these girls at once arose.

Suggested Standards

The thoroughness of the initial examination to determine the presence or absence of venereal disease is of vital importance. While there are four so-called "venereal diseases"—syphilis, gonorrhea, chancroid, and gangrenous balanitis—there is good authority for considering this problem from only two points of view, that of syphilis and gonorrhea. Dr. John H. Stokes, chief of the Section of Dermatology and Syphilology of the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, states that for the broader outlook there are really only two genital diseases, syphilis and gonorrhea, since chancroids and gangrenous balanitis are "incidents in the diagnosis of syphilis."[1]

Routine Examinations and Tests. There should be, first, a careful examination with the microscope to discover the germ of syphilis; second, repeated tests of the blood for evidence of it through a period of several months. According to Dr. Stokes, the second of these processes should never be substituted for the first, since the beginning of syphilis may be detected through the microscopic examination long before a positive reaction will be secured from a blood test. Since the vital need in the disease is early treatment, microscopic work as a part of every examination is imperative. Delayed discovery of the disease may mean months or years of unsuccessful treatment. At the present time many of these training schools content themselves with taking Wassermanns and make no microscopic examinations. There are, moreover, certain definite limitations to the value of the Wassermann as a test for syphilis.

If microscopic examinations in addition to Wassermanns were routine for every girl newly admitted or readmitted, a larger por-

[1] Stokes, John H., Today's World Problem in Disease Prevention. U. S. Public Health Service, Washington, 1919, pp. 17–18.

tion of a visiting physician's time than is sometimes provided for would be necessary. It is questionable whether some of the present visiting physicians in these schools are in a position to make a microscopic examination. To secure such examinations would increase somewhat the per capita expenditure of the institution. In our opinion, however, this expenditure is much more urgently needed than are some of the things for which money is now being spent. It is better for a school to have less expensive buildings, for example, and more extensive medical service.

Gonorrhea seems to present even more baffling problems than does the dreaded syphilis. The slowness of the response to treatment, and the seeming cure, followed by a new outbreak, create a discouraging situation. And since it can be positively identified only by a physician who uses a microscope, the importance of such examination applies to gonorrhea as much or more than to syphilis. In these schools, we found microscopic examinations more general in the search for gonorrhea than for syphilis. Resembling other diseases based on inflammation, gonorrhea often passes through two stages, acute and chronic. If the first active stage is met promptly and adequately, the germ may be destroyed at once and the chronic stage never reached. It is for this reason that early and effective medical service is so essential for all girls concerning whom there is any question of the presence of gonorrhea.

It is not only essential that there be prompt and thorough gynecological examinations and laboratory tests by capable people, but also that all needed treatments be properly carried out. The exact nature of these treatments will differ somewhat according to the practices of individual physicians. We found girls in some training schools giving the simpler treatments, with no nurse or even a matron present. Such a plan is not recommended. Some treatments for gonorrhea and syphilis may be given by a nurse instead of a doctor, but they should always be at the direction and under the supervision of a graduate physician.

When to Be Released. One essential point which can hardly be overemphasized is the need of definite standards for the release or dismissal from these schools of girls who may carry infection. Unless a girl is going to a hospital or unless it is known positively that she will otherwise continue to be under medical treatment

and supervision, she should not be paroled or discharged until the physician has stated that she will not be a danger to the community. We submit instructions as to standard procedure sent by the United States Public Health Service to directors of government clinics:

Syphilis. . . . No case should be considered as cured for at least one year after the termination of treatment and unless the following conditions have been satisfied: (*a*) No treatment for one year during which time there have been no symptoms, no positive and several negative Wassermann reactions. (*b*) A negative provocative Wassermann reaction. (*c*) A negative spinal fluid examination. (*d*) A complete negative physical examination, having special reference to the nervous and circulatory systems. (*e*) A leutin test may also be included. . . .

Gonorrhea—Females. 1. No urethral or vaginal discharge.

2. Two successive negative examinations for gonococci of secretions of the urethra, vagina, and the cervix, with an interval of 48 hours and repeated on four successive weeks.

(This rule is laid down as the best practical method at our disposal at present, but it is fully realized that such negative findings may not in every instance be conclusive as to freedom from infection, and the patient should be requested to return at frequent intervals for subsequent examinations. . . .)[1]

These standards are much higher than those observed in the majority of training schools. Care is generally taken not to dismiss a girl until it has been considered safe to do so, but sometimes one negative Wassermann is deemed sufficient, though our best medical authorities tell us that one such negative test means very little. Many institutions should raise their standards in this matter. In a few cases where girls return to their own homes, or where satisfactory outside provisions for care and treatment are made, it may be permissible and even preferable to parole them prior to the date at which these government requirements could be met. State laws usually require that girls be discharged from a juvenile training school when they reach their majority. The institutions can then only make recommendations and report to boards of health regarding the condition of girls returned to given communities.

[1] Venereal Disease Control-Standards for Discharge of Carriers. U. S. Public Health Service, Washington, 1918, pp. 3–4.

Classification in Institution. Classification of pupils in an institution, some of whom are affected with gonorrhea or syphilis, is important. Girls in an infectious stage of either disease should live separately from the other pupils at least as far as their cottage life is concerned. In many training schools which pride themselves on their special provisions for venereal girls, there is no effort to protect those with syphilis from those with gonorrhea, or vice versa. Girls with only one of these diseases in an infectious stage should be cared for separately; those with both should form a third group. If the number with each disease in an infectious stage is small, all may live in one hospital building, but in distinct departments. This whole question of the control of venereal disease, its treatment and cure, is one of the most difficult which the administrative officers of a girls' training school have to meet.

Sex Education

In the past there has been a tendency to correlate rather closely questions of sex education with those of venereal disease. This often results in a far too narrow interpretation of the purpose of proper sex education, and gives too great emphasis to its negative aspects. Nevertheless, in a training school for delinquent girls, the two subjects bear some relationship to each other. Just as the situation in regard to venereal disease presents special features and is of great importance in such an institution, so does the question of sex education, and many of the reasons are similar.

The importance of sex education has now been rather widely accepted throughout the country, but the best methods of giving both formal and informal instruction and the subject matter suitable for different age groups, are still much debated. Dr. William F. Snow, general director of the American Social Hygiene Association, in his little book, The Venereal Diseases, one of the National Health Series, writes:

> It was inevitable that sex education like other phases of education should go through stages of being popularly discussed, then exploited by irresponsible or unprincipled persons, and finally taken up seriously by the leaders of education. Now that the novelty of freedom to talk about sex and sex-social problems has worn away there are indications that the next ten years will see sound instruction in this matter effectively and

quietly incorporated in our program of education and training, so far as this may be necessary to supplement the instruction and influence of the parents in the home. Progress in this direction is being further accelerated by the serious interest of the clergy and schools of religion in character-training as it relates to sex conduct.[1]

Had the girls in these training schools received the right kind of instruction earlier in life, no doubt it would have been unnecessary to send some of them to a state correctional institution. For many it is still not too late to give this much needed part of their education. Sex hygiene instruction should be considered an integral and important part of the general educational plan in a girls' training school.

In the large majority of the 57 schools visited, much more emphasis should be given to this subject. In a few schools only did we find any formal group work, but the lack of this is not necessarily to be criticized, since individual instruction is probably preferable. In many schools the physician or superintendent gives instruction to special girls, but in a few only is there a comprehensive plan to reach each girl, either by individualized or group instruction.

The Instructor. Naturally one of the first questions which arise is: Who will give this instruction? Most of us agree that it is infinitely preferable for a child's first sex knowledge to be received from her own parents, if the father and mother are at all equal to the task. In the case of these adolescent girls who have been removed from their homes and sent to state institutions, it is safe to say that the large majority have had no proper sex instruction at home. What they know of sex matters has generally been learned from other children and from evil associates. Whether or not they may be capable in this matter, help from the parents is now cut off by reason of the girl's transfer to the institution. The duty, therefore, can best be performed by a woman physician (or sometimes a nurse), the superintendent, or a teacher who has made a study of these questions. Where there is no resident woman physician, the superintendent is often in the best position to undertake this difficult task. Occasionally a principal of the

[1] The Venereal Diseases. National Health Series. Funk and Wagnalls Co., New York, 1924, p. 47.

academic school, or a teacher of science who is interested in biology, will be able to present the subject wisely. While we greatly favor parents instructing their own children, yet in an institution it is doubtful whether the person who most nearly stands in that relationship, the cottage mother, is the one to do this. Taking these women as a whole in the 57 schools, it is doubtful whether any large number of them could handle the matter wisely.

Moreover, where girls already have much misinformation and perhaps have had untoward experiences, it is especially important that the person who is to give guidance have a deep appreciation of the particular needs of each girl. There is no worker with these girls with whom the question of personality is of greater importance. She who is to help these girls in making proper sex adjustments must be accepted by them as herself having normal impulses and desires, the ability to get another person's point of view, and the inner strength of character and power of control which they do not possess.

Purpose. The true purpose of sex education with these delinquent girls is not so much a matter of giving detailed information (though misinformation must be corrected), as of creating the proper attitude toward sex. Most of these girls have had considerable experience in life which they need to forget. With some the sex impulse has been permitted so free an expression that it overshadows all other impulses. Such girls need to be given a different perspective in relation to the whole question. Then there is a group who have come to sorrow through their sex experiences and now feel that every matter relating to sex is necessarily sordid and evil. This group must be taught to think of normal sex expression as both natural and wholesome. Charles W. Eliot, late president of Harvard University, who had great interest in the subject, expressed his opinion as follows:

> Society must be relieved by sound instruction of the horrible doctrine that the begetting and bearing of children are in the slightest degree sinful and foul processes. That doctrine lies at the root of the feeling of shame in connection with these processes and the desire for secrecy. The plain fact is that there is nothing so sacred and propitious on earth as the bringing of another normal child into the world in marriage. There is nothing staining or defiling about it, and therefore there is no need for shame or

secrecy, but only for pride and joy. This doctrine should be part of the instruction given to all young people.[1]

At another time Dr. Eliot said: "I am afraid that it is going to take many generations of men (who have been given wise teaching) . . . to root out of the consciousness of the Christian races the horrible theological doctrine that man is 'altogether born in sin.'"

Rabbi Abram Simon of the Hebrew Temple, Washington, D. C., likewise feels the necessity of sound sex instruction for all children and has been quoted as saying that, in the near future it will be considered a crime to graduate a child from public school, or to confirm one in a church, without having first given him sex instruction so that he may realize the sacredness of the sex function and of his own body.

Type of Instruction. The type of instruction in children's institutions which is sometimes given in classrooms, chapel exercises, or cottage gatherings seems of questionable value if not of positive danger. Group work calls for great skill. In the hands of the novice it offers many pitfalls. If it is to be given, girls should be carefully classified by age and former experience, and the teaching adapted to their needs. While group instruction is being used in some places successfully, including a number of these schools, it is not recommended for wholesale adoption in them at this time. It is safer to talk to the girls separately. The giving of information on sex hygiene can follow a carefully prepared plan but appear to be almost casual and the girl may thus receive the help she needs when it would be most valuable. Individual instruction, of course, demands much more time on the part of the person giving it than does group work. However, there is compensation in the fact that a heart to heart talk between physician and patient, or between teacher and pupil, at the moment when some sex hygiene question has arisen, can be made more helpful than can a formal lecture when the girl may not be in a receptive mood.

Subject Matter. While the nature of the instruction will need to be adapted to each school and to each girl, certain fundamental principles generally hold true. These can be found in various

[1] Stowell, William L., Sex for Parents and Teachers. Macmillan Co., New York, 1924, p. 129.

manuals, the names of some of which are contained in the Bibliography in the Appendix D of this book. With small children, sex education has long been based on the life histories of plants and animals. Although most of the pupils in a training school for girls have considerable knowledge of adult human life their steps may well be traced back through nature study to the recognition of certain fundamental principles. With these older girls, this is done not so much as a means of imparting information, as to remold their point of view, making it more wholesome, and to give to the whole subject an objective aspect.

For children, information regarding plant and animal life should later be correlated to the facts of human life, a transition made without great difficulty by the skilled teacher. The choice of a vocabulary is often very embarrassing to the untrained and inexperienced teacher of sex education, but the more simple and direct her words, the more likely will she be to create the desired attitude.

While all girls, and especially those in a training school, should know that certain forms of sex misconduct lead to serious social and physical consequences, this aspect should never be the keynote of any sex hygiene program. Too often in the past, instruction has taken the form of negative warning. There is need of inhibitions and restrictions, but the keynote should be one of positive idealism and wholesome expression. Dr. Stokes states this principle as follows:

> It is an essentially evolutionary and stimulating view of the possibilities of the sexual life which teaches a self-control that expresses itself in noble action rather than in the negative virtue of frigid ultra-restraint. To teach sexual morale as a thing which can and should be an expression of one's best, not an inhibition of one's worst, is to teach it dynamically and synthetically, and to enlist in the cause all the upward tendency of the race.[1]

If life on a high sexual plane is to be achieved through intelligent expression rather than through dwarfing repression, it is essential that there be adequate sublimation. Outlets must be discovered for the impulses of antisocial sexual behavior, and energy be redirected into other channels. These needs are often the basis of

[1] Today's World Problem in Disease Prevention. p. 123.

the program of physical training classes, amateur dramatics, competitive cottage activities, and outdoor work for girls in a training school.

Sex education, properly developed, is a definite part of character training and as such becomes an important factor in the work which constitutes in the final analysis the prime function of a modern training school for delinquent girls. Thomas W. Galloway, in his book, Sex and Social Health, written for the American Social Hygiene Association, summarizes the results which one may hope to obtain from such instruction:

> If we are right in regarding sex education as only character education in which sex is included at its full value, then there are some specific and personal results in the child that we are seeking; results which the child is not likely to get unless sex phenomena are definitely included and pedagogically used in this education. It will help in the organization of our methods if we try to discover what these are. They seem to be:
>
> 1. To get right attitudes in the child toward sex and other related impulses. . . .
>
> 2. To develop the ability habitually to make this attitude effective in conduct. . . .
>
> 3. To secure an inner satisfaction in contemplating or performing sound sex acts, and discomfort and disgust from practices which are biologically, psychologically, esthetically, socially, or morally unsound.[1] . . .

[1] Galloway, Thomas W., Sex and Social Health. American Social Hygiene Association, New York, 1924, pp. 130–131.

CHAPTER XI

MATERNITY SERVICE AND PROVISION FOR BABIES

THE care of pregnant girls, provisions for their confinement and for the care of their babies constitute subjects of major importance in a training school for delinquent girls. While the number of schools is not large in which confinements occur or babies are kept with their girl mothers, plans must be made for both maternity service and the care of the babies.

Care of Pregnant Girls

Before discussing tentative recommendations and minimum standards, we should note the present situation in the schools. All data regarding pregnant girls, their confinements, and the care of babies are based on 54 schools which furnished us with information on these special questions. Seventeen of these 54 do not admit any girl who is known to be pregnant. If one is admitted through error, as soon as possible she is returned to the county that sent her. The remaining 37 schools, during the fiscal year 1921–1922, cared for 316 pregnant girls.

In one state (Nebraska) there is a special state institution for the "protection, shelter and training of unmarried girl mothers." This was included in our study because it cares for the same age groups as do most of the state training schools for girls, and it provides similar training. Nebraska conducts also a state training school for delinquent girls. Instead of caring for these girls in two departments in one institution, it completely separates those who are pregnant. In most of the other 36 training schools that receive pregnant girls, an effort is made to care for them apart from other groups. Pregnant girls often live in the hospital or sometimes in the administration building, especially after the third or fourth month of pregnancy. In a few instances, however, we found them living in the regular cottages with the other girls up to the time of

their confinements. Most of the schools assign some routine tasks to them, although not the heaviest work of the institution. As a rule they do not attend the academic school. In the institutions which accept for care new girls who are pregnant, or which bring back those who become so on parole, the regular medical service is available for pregnant girls. In some cases where this includes a resident or visiting physician who makes regular and frequent calls at the institution, the service was satisfactory both as to quality and adequacy. In other cases, however, we felt that the medical supervision over the girls throughout the period of pregnancy was not adequate.

Obstetrical Service

In most schools the obstetrical service is not part of the medical service of the institution. In only five of the 37 that receive pregnant girls does the confinement take place in the institution. Four of these five in our opinion provide high-grade service; in the remaining school it was not entirely satisfactory. Other institutions send the girls to outside hospitals or special institutions. A few institutions, in exceptional instances, permit girls to return to their own homes for confinement. In one school, obstetrical cases are sent to the State Prison; in another to the State Hospital for the Insane. In these instances it would seem that every possible effort should be made to provide other facilities for the maternity service. Outside institutions include Salvation Army and Florence Crittenton Homes, where close co-operation exists with the state training schools.

Provision for Babies

While pregnant girls are received in a fairly large percentage of the schools, in only six were babies in care at the time of our visit. This means that in other instances the institution, some other agency, or the mother's own family had made arrangements to care for the babies elsewhere. The following training schools had babies in care at the time of our visit: New York State Training School for Girls at Hudson; Dade County Home for Delinquent Girls, Miami, Florida; Chicago Home for Girls, Chicago, Illinois; Home School for Girls, Sauk Center, Minnesota; Nebraska Industrial Home at Milford; and Oklahoma Industrial Home for

Colored Girls at Taft. In four of these six schools the medical service both for mother and infant is of high grade. In most instances, each infant is seen frequently by the physician. Generally he makes out the formula and a nurse supervises the girls in their preparation of the babies' food. Usually the babies are weighed at frequent intervals. In three of these six institutions the babies sleep in their mothers' rooms; in two, in separate dormitories; in the remaining school, the baby's sleeping place depends upon his age.

Where babies share their mothers' rooms, in two schools the baby's crib is in the single room containing the mother's bed. In the other school, the mothers sleep with their babies in a large dormitory with other girls. In the two schools where the babies are separated from their mothers at night, they are in special nurseries. A third school cares for a number of its infants in nurseries.

In all six of these schools each girl mother has certain responsibilities for her own baby, varying somewhat between institutions. In the Chicago Home for Girls she bathes him daily, generally washes his clothing, nurses him at prescribed periods or feeds him from a bottle at definite intervals. She prepares his formula in a well-equipped diet kitchen under the supervision of a graduate nurse. During the day all babies are cared for under this nurse's supervision in a central nursery with one of the mothers in charge in the morning and another in the afternoon. The other mothers participate in the rest of the work of the institution, but the girl in charge of the babies is in every case a mother of one of them; no other girls work in this department. At night each baby sleeps in a crib in the same room with his mother. A woman night supervisor patrols the halls, and the superintendent feels that she would know if any baby were ill or needing special attention. In addition to the visiting woman physician and a resident graduate nurse, a man pediatrician comes once in two weeks to examine each baby and to pass on his weight and on the formula used; he is also subject to call.

In the Nebraska Industrial Home at Milford each girl cares largely for her own baby. She dresses and undresses, bathes and feeds him, but does not necessarily wash his clothes. At the time

she nurses him she is given opportunity to sit quietly and "mother" him a bit. The superintendent feels that this is essential. Each formula is made by the nurse under the supervision of the visiting physician. A modified menu is given the little children, who eat in the nursery dining room. Physician and nurse are responsible for the health of the babies. They are examined by the physician whenever the nurse feels there is need. She weighs the babies weekly. The visiting physician is also a surgeon and he performs circumcisions and other minor operations at the institution. He also delivers the babies in a room especially equipped for that purpose. If in need of a second physician he brings his own assistant. Great care is exercised to have the doctor reach the institution in time to take complete charge of every confinement, though the resident nurse is always one who understands obstetrics and in an emergency could take care of the case. In this institution, as in some others, we felt that the babies' health and care were considered before and above other training of the girls.

In 22 of the 37 schools that receive pregnant girls, the school itself makes the final arrangements for the babies. In others the plans for them are left to outside social agencies, to the institutions where the confinement occurs, or, in a very few instances, to the girl's family. Of the 54 superintendents who answered our questions on this subject 33 believed that these girls, as a rule, should be encouraged to keep their babies. Six believed they should not. A few gave indefinite answers. Many are of the opinion (in which we concur) that each girl must be carefully studied before a decision can be made regarding her baby.

In practice we found a variety of methods being used. A girl sometimes returns to her own home with her baby, or she takes a service position with him, or in a few cases the baby remains in some special institution while she works and pays his board. Where it is felt that the girl mother needs additional training and discipline, after her confinement in a Salvation Army Home, Florence Crittenton Home, or other institution, she sometimes returns to the training school. In these cases the baby is cared for in a special institution for babies or occasionally boarded out by a child-placing agency. Many of the schools do not work so closely with the child-placing societies as would be desirable.

Suggested Standards

While the questions under consideration in this chapter present debatable aspects and opinions differ considerably, there are some basic principles that would seem to hold for these schools. We wish to avoid dogmatism, for we realize how little accurate knowledge there is about some phases of the matter; for example, the advisability of keeping these girl mothers and their babies together. Little is known as a result of careful research under what circumstances the children of these mothers turn out best. However, we feel it is safe to make a few suggestions and recommendations.

In our opinion pregnant girls should be accepted by state training schools unless there are other adequate provisions in the state for their care. We realize that their inclusion complicates the administration of the school and increases the problems to be met; on the other hand, if no other suitable provision exists, the state school is shirking its responsibility when it refuses to accept them. Since a large number of the pupils in a training school are sex delinquents, we can expect the problem of pregnancy and maternity to be closely allied with other problems common to these girls. Expectant mothers should, however, if possible, be cared for separately either in a cottage or hospital building. They can probably attend chapel exercises and be present at the entertainments provided for all girls without creating an undesirable situation for the group as a whole. In many schools we found a number of very young children—six, seven, eight, and nine years of age—who should not be closely associated with these pregnant girls.

It is vital that pregnant girls be kept occupied and as contented as possible. They should not be prevented because of their physical condition from doing some work in the cottage. In the early months of their pregnancy it may be advisable also for them to do a little work outside—with flowers, chickens, and so forth. They need outdoor exercise, either through light work or gentle play. Of great importance is the creation of the proper attitude on the part of the girl for the coming of her baby. No matter what has been her experience prior to admission to the training school, every effort should now be made to have her realize that motherhood is a sacred thing.

If an institution receives pregnant girls, it is essential that the medical service be adequate and of high quality. If there is no resident physician a visiting doctor should be on the payroll, a stipulated part of whose time is at the command of the superintendent of the institution. The physician should respond to all emergency calls as quickly as possible. During their pregnancy he should examine the girls at frequent intervals and should make special tests, such as blood pressure, urinalyses, and so forth.

Unless a training school is unusually well equipped, with a separate hospital some distance from the other buildings, it is probably better for the actual confinement to occur in an outside hospital. Evidently those in charge of these training schools agree with this principle, because a very few only have their own obstetrical service. Even though arrangements have been made with an outside hospital, every training school which gives care to pregnant girls should be equipped so that in emergencies girls can be safely confined within the school.

In our estimation the girl mother and her baby should be cared for together for several months at least, whether in the training school or elsewhere, and she should have a large part of his care. Unless the physician advises against it, she should nurse her baby. With very young girls or with those diseased, the physician may recommend artificial feeding. It is an indisputable fact that in the large majority of cases babies who are not breast-fed start life with a handicap. The mother should bathe her infant, put him to bed, dress and undress him, and, if possible, do at least part of his washing, all under the supervision of a nurse or of some other experienced person. In the case of a girl who has shown no desire to keep her baby, but where it is felt that such a plan is desirable, the performing of these tasks may foster a maternal feeling.

We believe that it is somewhat better for babies to sleep in a night nursery away from the girl mothers, especially where these mothers have charge of them by day. Many of these girls are young, are themselves in need of physical rehabilitation, and their night rest should be unbroken. From the point of view of the baby too it is probably preferable to have a separate night nursery. A baby needs different ventilation in a room and different temperature from the mother. A woman supervisor responsible for the

babies at night will probably give them better attention than would their own mothers. Of great importance is the providing of time and opportunity for the girl to express her affection for her child, to play with him as he grows older, and to do those things which a mother does in her own home. Physicians tell us that from a purely health standpoint this "mothering" is a vital factor.

It seems to us not so important whether the training school or an outside social agency makes the final plan for a baby. The vital thing is that real social case work methods be used by trained social workers. A superintendent, her day filled with other important matters, should not be expected to make a careful plan for each baby. If the institution has no trained case workers on its staff it would probably be wiser to leave such plans to an outside agency equipped to render this service. The writer leans toward the idea of the mother's keeping her baby where at all feasible, but the child's welfare should in every case be the first consideration, not that the mother's conduct in the opinion of the social worker would be thereby better controlled. Some of these girls are not capable of taking proper care of a baby, but where a girl has some potentialities and desires to keep her child, there should be every effort to make it possible for her to do so. A baby may be better off with his own mother under average physical care, plus genuine mother affection, than in a home where the advantages in other directions would be superior.

A great deal of study is still required of these important questions. Training schools that receive pregnant girls for care and that make plans for their infants are in a position to contribute toward a better understanding of the many factors involved. They should also be of assistance in the eventual adoption by social agencies, as a whole, of wiser methods and plans for handling these questions.

CHAPTER XII

PHYSICAL CARE OF GIRLS

PERSONAL hygiene is important for all children and adults, but especially for girls in a training school because many of them enter with low standards and bad habits. Cleanliness is one of the basic factors in a health program. It is easier to keep children well if they are kept clean. Moreover, absolute cleanliness is one preventive of undesirable sex habits.

For æsthetic reasons, too, personal hygiene is of great importance. These girls should be taught to enjoy cleanliness. If they habitually practice it, they will have an increased self-respect; and after the adoption of high personal standards they will be better prepared to benefit fully from the entire program of the school. Moreover, habits of cleanliness and neatness are to the girl's economic advantage if she takes a position upon leaving the school.

In practice, a large majority of the schools require each girl to take a hot bath twice a week; a few require a weekly bath, and a few others a daily bath. Often, standards are governed not so much by the ideals of the workers in charge as by physical limitations of the plant. In some instances the number of tubs or showers, in others the water supply, is insufficient. In some of the schools where each girl has her own sleeping room, she is able to take a daily sponge in addition to the weekly or semi-weekly tub bath. Many superintendents, while realizing that shower baths are more sanitary, think some tubs are necessary to secure real cleanliness, especially in the receiving cottage. Where venereal disease exists, showers are safer. If at all possible the girls should have a daily bath, but the minimum should be two hot baths weekly, either in a tub or a shower. Those who work in kitchen, dairy, or on the farm should bathe daily.

Individual Equipment

All pupils should have separate toilet articles. To prevent disease, if for no other reason, a girl should never use a comb,

toothbrush, towel, or washcloth used by another. This rule must be strictly observed in an institution where the exact physical condition of every child at every moment cannot always be known. For æsthetic reasons, too, each girl should have her own toilet articles and should be taught that their possession and use by herself alone are not to be questioned. One who has never before owned either a comb or a toothbrush may quickly learn to respect another's and to resent anyone's using hers. Before she leaves the training school she should be accustomed to certain standards and niceties of living. Constant repetition of an act may not always result in habit formation, but it is more likely to if the result gives pleasure.

In every girls' training school included in our study, a comb, toothbrush, and towels are provided for each girl. The superintendents or matrons of a very few of the smaller and financially poor institutions personally have purchased some of the toilet articles needed in order that each girl may have her own. Pupils in many institutions do not have hairbrushes unless they are sent from home or provided at special times, as at Christmas.

The writer found one institution, caring for both boys and girls, that used roller towels; but in every girls' school each girl had at least one towel a week. In some schools she may wash out this towel in hot water daily. A good many schools supply one hand towel and one bath towel a week, a number provide four towels; in a few schools the rule is a clean hand towel daily and two bath towels a week.

Washcloths are not provided by every school. Girls sometimes receive them from home, but often an old piece of cloth is used. Individual soap and tooth paste or tooth powder are not universally provided. Occasionally these are given as rewards, or girls purchase them from the school's store with money they have earned.

Two of the 57 girls' training schools give out no sanitary napkins to be used during the girls' menstrual periods. The superintendent of one school stated that the girls "take old rags," and another that "the parents are supposed to provide menstrual supplies." In this latter instance the school made no provision when the parents did not, and the superintendent was unable to state what the girls did under these conditions. The sanitary napkins most

commonly used are made of canton flannel and are marked with the girls' names, numbers, or initials. As a rule each girl is provided with six or eight, which are kept in a bag together with a sanitary belt, usually in a central linen room. In a few institutions each girl keeps her own supplies in her own sleeping room. In approximately one-fourth of the schools the menstrual supplies are checked out monthly to the girls, either by a cottage officer or by a girl who has been assigned to this task. In 23 institutions written records show the dates these supplies are given to and received back from each girl. As a rule, each girl washes her own napkins, which are then sent to the regular laundry. In a very few cases pads are made by the girls which are burned instead of being washed. The proper supervision of menstrual supplies, and of the girls during these periods, constitutes a problem of considerable dimensions in many of the schools.

The individualized article least often found is a drinking cup. A very few schools have bubbling fountains in the halls and on the campus. Some supply each girl with a glass or cup, which she is supposed to keep in her room. These cups are likely to be broken or lost and not replaced for some time. In many schools we were told that if the girls become thirsty between meals they may secure "a glass from the kitchen"; in others that they "drink from the water faucets."

Where the girls have single rooms they can keep toilet articles there; where they sleep in dormitories or have sleeping porches, special boxes, lockers or bags attached to the foot of their beds are often used. Where there is a dormitory system, towels are generally hung in bathrooms; sometimes toothbrushes also. We found in a very few training schools providing no place where a girl could keep her comb or toothbrush that she carried these about with her.

A few minimum standards on these points may be suggested. Each girl should be given her own comb, toothbrush, towels, washcloths, soap (unless liquid soap is provided), toothpaste or powder, and menstrual supplies, and, if there are no drinking fountains, a water glass or cup.

One clean towel daily is desirable, but two hand towels and two bath towels a week are an absolute minimum. These should not

be simply "washed out" by the girls, but should be sent to the laundry and boiled. At least two clean washcloths a week should be provided (the girls may make these out of old material); and they, too, should be sent to the laundry and boiled. Sufficient menstrual supplies are essential. No girl should be given less than six napkins. Pads that could be burned would be more sanitary and somewhat reduce the problem of supervision. If made by the girls their cost would not be prohibitive.

Places where girls may keep individual articles will differ according to institutional building plans. Where there are only dormitories, or sleeping porches, the comb, brush, drinking cup, toothpaste, and so forth, for each girl can be kept on a shelf in the top of her locker. Damp towels or toothbrushes should be hung in the light and air. If in the bathroom, the hooks must be placed so that no article belonging to one girl touches any used by another.

Clothing

The question of clothing bears a definite relationship to problems of health and hygiene. Pupils must have warm clothing in winter, light clothing in summer, and enough to permit sufficient changes. Clothes, however, are a much more important element in institutional life than is indicated by such considerations. For example, they may be a symbol of institutional life or of punishment; on the other hand, they may constitute a very real connection with the outside world. Dull, drab uniforms may be a constant reminder that a girl is living in a correctional institution; attractive, bright-colored individual clothing makes the institutional régime more like normal community life.

Dresses and aprons made from the same bolt of cloth and in one style may give the entire group the appearance of being stamped with one pattern, of having come from one mold. On the other hand, if varied, they constitute one means for expression of taste and the development of individuality. Schools with this latter idea generally have a rather complete plan of constructive discipline, and in it clothes take their rightful place. They affect the morale of the whole school.

Let us note the situation as we found it. Of the 57 girls' schools,

26 provide individualized clothing, dresses of different patterns and colors, for all; 20 have uniforms; and 11 provide clothing partly individualized and partly uniform. Thus it is seen that in nearly half of the schools the clothing is entirely individualized, and in an additional fifth some of it is, making a total of two-thirds of the schools in which part or all of the girls' clothing is individualized. In certain schools the girls have some choice in materials and patterns; in a very few that conduct a store, they buy some material with toy money which they have earned; in some they are permitted to wear dresses brought or sent from home, if of suitable material and style.

As a rule we found the individualized clothing fairly attractive; occasionally unusually so. A few schools provide uniforms resembling those of a private boarding school or outdoor camp that seemed completely to satisfy the girls. Such uniforms are composed of sailor suits or of middy blouses with bloomers. In one middle western institution, having an average population of not much less than 200, the work dresses are dark blue and the school dresses a lighter blue, all made of the same materials and identical in design. The visitor during the recreation hour saw all of the pupils in this school marching about the grounds with arms folded, each one wearing a gray knitted cap and gray shawl (identical for all), and her dress so long that the skirt almost touched the ground. In spite of their young faces many of them looked like miniature old women. The monotony, drabness, and lack of life created a picture that will long remain in the writer's memory.

In one eastern state school the girls during the morning while they are working wear unattractive aprons (not dresses), made of bed ticking. The gingham dresses worn to school and church are fairly attractive, but they have no "best dress," a possession which means so much to all girls.

In several institutions aprons with bibs, sometimes made of white material, are worn over dresses. They would seem to constitute part of a uniform rather than to be worn for any protection. The superintendents should realize that this apparel worn by young girls twenty years ago has long since been discarded.

In the Harris County School for Girls at Bellaire, Texas, all pupils have two pretty school dresses and one very attractive

Sunday dress. Each dress is distinctive in style and even if each is made of the same material the way the materials are combined is different. The girls make their own dresses and enjoy putting much work on them in the way of tucks and ruffles. While these increase the laundry problem, the superintendent considers rightly that the girls' work is worth while.

In the State Industrial Home for Girls at Chillicothe, Missouri, the school dresses are made of very pretty colored ginghams in a variety of patterns, and every girl has a good coat and hat for outdoor wear in winter.

In the Home School for Girls at Sauk Center, Minnesota, we found that the girls took considerable interest and pride in their dresses, which were of distinctive patterns and pretty colors. At the time of our visit the plan in operation was for all except the youngest to buy their clothes at the school store with toy money they had earned. Thus, those most efficient and with the best records had the greatest change of dresses.

The majority of the institutions provide for outdoor wear a heavy sweater and cap. Coats and hats are more rare, and unless they have a coat of their own the girls must often wear these sweaters with their best dresses. All dresses supplied seem universally to be made of wash materials, often dark blue denim for work about the cottage in the morning, gingham of lighter color for school, and middy suits of white duck or similar material for Sundays. Bloomers are worn for work in the dairy, at the barn, or in the fields, and, of course, in the gymnasium. Unlike some children's institutions in this country all the 57 schools provide underwear and nightclothes. Bath robes and bath slippers are found in scarcely any of these schools.

As a rule the quality of the materials is fairly satisfactory. Occasionally coarser and heavier cloth was used than seemed necessary, whether from the point of view of wear, of laundry or of initial cost. Superintendents in a very few instances complained of the sleaziness of some materials furnished them by the state purchasing agent. Color and design often left something to be desired, the determining factor in these seeming to be serviceability rather than attractiveness.

The quantity of clothing varies considerably. A good many

institutions, however, provide two complete changes for each girl, two sets of underwear, two nightgowns, two work dresses or aprons, and two school dresses, but generally only one Sunday dress; a number provide three changes. In some institutions the supply of clothing does not permit so frequent changes as the superintendents would like.

Thus far we have been discussing actual conditions. In any tentative standards, emphasis should be placed first on the great desirability of individualized clothing, especially in regard to dresses. This develops a sense of ownership, for the growth of which there are not many opportunities in an institution. For practical reasons it may be better to have some clothing uniform, such as work bloomers and sweaters; and while it is more economical to purchase the material for dresses in quantities, it was evident that much individuality could be obtained through different color combinations and the use of different materials in one garment. As far as possible the older girls should have a voice in the selection of their own clothing. Such selection is often an education in taste and develops a pride in appearance which is highly desirable if not carried too far. A number of superintendents said that a new girl often wished color combinations which were "quite impossible," and that it was interesting to watch their preferences change as they remained longer in the school. Each girl's garments should be marked, and after they are washed they should be returned to a girl's room or to the central linen room to be assorted.

A second minimum standard should be attractive clothing. Unusually expensive materials are not required, but some thought and planning are. If the line of least resistance is followed, the result is often cheerless. For the same money, or at most for very little more, the girls' clothing could afford them real pleasure.

A third minimum standard is a sufficient supply of clothing. Every girl should be provided with at least the following garments:

Two pairs of shoes
Three school dresses
Four suits of underwear
Three changes of night-clothing
Three work dresses
One "best dress"

Every girl should have sufficient outdoor wraps, not only a warm coat or a sweater, gloves and rubbers, but also arctics for those whose work takes them out of doors in snowy weather. All should have a bath robe or kimono, bath slippers, and such small personal articles as handkerchiefs, and, if possible some simple adornment, as beads. These satisfy a natural craving of most children and help to make them happy.

When the girls from a training school go to a nearby church or to entertainments they should be as well dressed as the children of an average family in the audience. It is false economy to buy materials of such poor quality that they do not last long enough to repay the labor of making. Nor should too fine materials be bought. Unbleached muslin is often used for underwear and heavy denim for work dresses. These garments, which are washed constantly in the central steam laundry and ironed in a mangle, must be strong. School and "best dresses" washed and ironed by hand can be made of finer materials.

Food

Another subject closely related to health and to questions considered under medical service, is proper diet. Growing young people need certain foods, not only to supply them energy but to build up tissues and muscles; undernourished children have lower resistance to disease. In some instances such children are given a sufficient quantity of good food, but the diet does not contain the particular values they need. Here a physician must be consulted. Food in a training school for girls is of especial importance because many enter the institution in poor physical condition; large numbers are definitely underweight and undernourished.

In an institution food is also important in the development and maintenance of good morale. If there is poor food, the institutional population is generally not contented or in the right frame of mind, even if other conditions are fairly satisfactory. One superintendent said that in taking charge of an institution where there had been some trouble with discipline one of the first things she would do would be to provide a satisfying, proper diet.

From our observation of these 57 schools, we believe that the diet is fairly satisfactory in at least two-thirds of them. As a

whole, the food is better than that sometimes provided in private boarding schools. The majority of these institutions are located on farms and the diet is improved by the use of the farm products. It is also true that even in institutions with low standards of study and treatment, constructive discipline, or supervision on parole, the situation in respect to the food provided is fairly satisfactory. In a very few schools only did we feel that false economy resulted in buying inferior foods. Taking the group as a whole, quantity also is sufficient. In a small number of schools we thought the portions too small, and in two or three it is customary to serve only two meals daily. These, however, are exceptional cases. The chief weakness in the diet in these institutions is the lack of scientifically prepared menus whereby a proper variety is assured and each girl received the food values she especially needs. The menus furnished us by these institutions showed certain deficiencies. A large number of them contained very little fruit. Many contained too much starchy food, and insufficient green and leafy vegetables; in the South there is a tendency to overemphasize hot breads. A number of schools even with good dairies, do not provide a liberal quantity of milk to drink; almost all, however, provide enough meat and usually enough sweets, these latter in the form of syrup, honey and jams, as well as in desserts.

Schools with trained dietitians on the staff who serve in that capacity are few. Only two of the 57 employed full-time specialists as dietitians, but in eight additional schools a domestic science teacher carried many of the functions of that position. In eight others a special officer supervised the menus and helped the cottage housekeepers with their food problems. These workers, however, were not necessarily specially trained. Some additional schools had domestic science teachers on their staffs who had no duties except classroom instruction. A few institutions have tried to secure in the cottages as housekeepers women who have some knowledge of food values. This is especially important in these institutions where each girl while participating in the work of the cottage is expected to learn principles which will govern her later in managing her own home.

At Sleighton Farm we attended a meeting of all the cottage housekeepers presided over by the assistant superintendent. Each

brought a copy of the menu she had used for the week and special recipes were discussed. Such a meeting not only serves as an exchange of ideas, but it increases the interest of these workers in their tasks. We have listed a few of the menus found in these schools which are reasonably satisfactory, and some not satisfactory. They give some idea of present conditions, but it must be remembered that the unsatisfactory menus are in the minority.

REASONABLY SATISFACTORY	NOT SATISFACTORY
Breakfast	
Stewed peaches	Fried pork
Cereal served with sugar and whole milk	Molasses
Bread	Bread
Cocoa	
Dinner	
Beef potpie with potatoes	Boiled beans
Onions and carrots	Pork
Pickled beets	Bread
Bread	
Vanilla cornstarch pudding	
Supper	
Soup	Crackers
Bread	Cheese
Lemon gelatine	
Breakfast	
Oatmeal with milk and sugar	Oatmeal with sugar (no milk)
Bread and butter	Hot biscuits (no butter or butter substitute)
Strawberry jam	
Cocoa	
Dinner	
Codfish cakes	Rice
Canned corn	Turnips
Coleslaw	Hot cornbread
Bread	Pickled beets
Apple pie	
Supper	
Scrambled eggs	No supper served
Bread	
Strawberry jam	
Milk	

REASONABLY SATISFACTORY	NOT SATISFACTORY
Breakfast	
Stewed fruit	Sausage
Grapenuts and milk	Oatmeal
Bread and butter	Hot bread
Cereal, coffee	
Dinner	
Eggs	Syrup
Potatoes	Bread
Cabbage salad	Butter
Bread	
Fruit butter	
Supper	
Vegetable soup	Salmon croquettes
Crackers	Potatoes
Bread and butter	Bread
Raisin tapioca pudding with milk	

In one large school each cottage housekeeper was required to follow the general plan for menus outlined in these regulations:

MINIMUM REQUIREMENT FOR MEALS FOR GIRLS

Breakfast — Stewed fruits, cooked or prepared cereal served with sugar and *whole* milk, bread, milk, cocoa or postum.

Dinner — *Meat* or fish in some form. Suggestions: hamburg in cakes or loaf, roast, stew with dumplings, potpie, corned beef, thick vegetable soup with meat stock, codfish, and the like.

Potatoes or rice or hominy.

Vegetables, two in summer, one in winter; relish, pickle or vegetable served with acid required.

Bread, cornbread served occasionally.

Dessert. Suggestions: gingerbread, brown betty, cornstarch puddings, doughnuts, pies, junket, tapioca and rice puddings, ice cream.

Supper — *Main dish*, baked dish of macaroni or rice and tomato, hominy and cheese, meat loaf, baked beans; Dutch cheese or peanut butter, pickles or a relish if possible; hot drink or milk.

Dessert, a light dessert, such as sauce (if not served at breakfast), cake, simple pudding, and the like.

While no attempt will be made here to discuss diet exhaustively, certain principles will hold true for all these schools, and certain

Good Friends of the Girls

recommendations can be made. First, every institution where the size permits should have a trained dietitian on the staff. In the smaller schools a domestic science teacher can often carry this work in addition to her other duties. She should plan, or at least pass on the plans, for all menus and be responsible for the securing of a balanced diet. She should co-operate closely with the medical department in regard to children who need special food, visit all kitchens regularly, supervise the cottage housekeepers, and should hold regular meetings with them at which time food values and the planning of meals are discussed.

Second, certain kinds of food should be included in the diet of every training school, the need for which any one can understand even if he has not a scientific knowledge of calories and vitamines. For example, authorities say that the diet of a child should contain a sufficient quantity of pure whole milk, at least one quart of milk a day if possible, and one pint as a minimum requirement. Milk is the most important single food for children, and is beneficial even to the older girls. Not all milk needs to be in a form to drink; much can be given in soups and so forth. Two or three of the schools included no fresh milk in their diet; they had no cows of their own and purchased no milk regularly; others used milk in cooking but seldom gave the girls any to drink. An important recommendation, therefore, is a greater supply of whole milk both for cooking and to drink. If tea and coffee are provided, they should be given only to the older girls and in limited quantities.

Vegetables form another important part of a good diet, especially leafy vegetables, such as lettuce, spinach, beet greens, and the like. Certain vegetables, such as potatoes, give needed volume or bulk to the food. Fruit should be served at least once a day. Oftentimes it is difficult to secure fresh fruit at reasonable cost unless raised by the institution; dried fruits can then be substituted. Some meat, fish, or fowl is needed, but not so frequently as it is served in many of these institutions. If there are ample supplies of fresh vegetables, milk, eggs, and fruit, it is sufficient to serve meat two or three times a week. In many of these schools it would be better if less money were spent for meat and more for milk. Some coarse, bulky foods are needed, as they are nourishing and prevent constipation. Cereal flours which contain the outside

grain are better than the more refined products. Some fat is essential for growing children; cream, whole milk, and butter being best. If all cream is removed from the milk, plenty of butter or pure butter substitutes must be supplied. Some vegetable oils may also be used. Fried foods are not desirable. All children need sweets, but in the average family they have too much sugar. The training schools as a whole probably give the girls enough, but not too much in the way of sweets. They often use molasses instead of sugar, and since it has high food value this is satisfactory. As a rule, sweets should be given children at the end of a meal.

A diet composed of these types of food will supply the various elements needed. Menus that include milk, vegetables (especially green vegetables), some bulky foods, fruit, some meat, fats, and a reasonable amount of sweets constitute a well-balanced and wholesome diet.

It has been estimated that in order to obtain a well-balanced diet at a minimum cost the percentages spent for each type of food of the total sum available for food should be as follows:[1]

25 per cent for milk
25 per cent for vegetables and fruits
15 per cent for bread, cereals and other grain products
10 per cent for meat, fish and poultry
10 per cent for butter and other fats
5 per cent for eggs
10 per cent for sugar, cheese, and other miscellaneous foodstuffs.

Third, in addition to the services of a trained person who acts as dietitian and to having the right kinds of food included in the menus, certain food habits should be inculcated. There should be three regular meals daily and the girls should be allowed plenty of time in which to eat them, not only because of the need of mastication, but because they should be taught good table manners. They should learn to like the foods they need. They should not, however, be forced to eat when not hungry; if they refuse food let them go without it for awhile. All food should be scrupulously clean, also the dishes and the table service. The girls them-

[1] O'Shea, M. V. (Editor), The Child: His Nature and His Needs. Children's Foundation, Valparaiso, Ind., 1924, pp. 228–229.

selves should come to the table clean. The tables should be attractive; if possible they should be small, to seat five or six girls, and equipped with table runners or doilies (preferable to tablecloths because easier to keep clean), napkins, suitable dishes, and plated silver. Heavy ware may be used if the cost of breakage seems to prevent the use of anything else, but granite or enamelware, which was found in a number of institutions, should be discarded. On entering a dining room which has one long table, with girls seated on benches and dishes that resemble kitchen utensils, one receives anything but a homelike impression, and one wonders where these girls will learn the standards needed for their own homes.

Finally, children should be happy at meals. They cannot derive the full value of their food unless while eating they are in a cheerful mood. It is not natural for them to eat in complete silence, and regardless of any problems thereby created, in every training school girls should be permitted to talk quietly with those at their immediate table.

In discussing food and diet it should be remembered that while poor food and poorly planned menus may be factors in undernourishment or in underweight, there are also other important factors. Underweight may mean undernourishment but not necessarily so. An appreciable number of children, underweight according to any recognized standard, are really in a normal condition from the point of view of nutrition. Others not properly nourished may yet be of normal weight and height. The findings of a medical examination must always be the final test. While improper diet constitutes a sufficiently important factor in undernourishment to warrant careful study, we should not overlook the additional factors of faulty health habits, overfatigue, physical defects, undesirable environmental conditions, and poor discipline. In these cases it is difficult to decide what is cause and what effect; but Dr. William R. P. Emerson is our authority for the general statement that, if the "causes of malnutrition" in the individual case are removed, we may reasonably expect the "essentials of health" which in his estimation include:[1]

[1] Emerson, William R. P., Nutrition and Growth in Children. D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1922, p. 5.

1. The removal of physical defects
2. Sufficient home control to insure good food and health habits
3. The prevention of overfatigue
4. Proper food at regular and sufficiently frequent intervals
5. Fresh air by day and by night

Thus it is seen that the problems of nutrition are much more extensive than was formerly thought to be the case, and that they include many elements besides food questions.

Good physical care for girls in a training school should include high standards of personal hygiene, the right kind of individualized equipment, suitable clothing, and proper food. The results should be better health and increased happiness.

CHAPTER XIII

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PSYCHIATRIC SERVICE

THE work of a psychologist and of a psychiatrist in a training school for girls should constitute part of the study of the individual with conduct difficulties. As already indicated, complete study of the individual delinquent should include three main phases: physical, mental, and social. The physical aspects of this study have already been discussed in Chapter IX, General Medical Service. The psychological and psychiatric phases of the study will be considered in the present chapter, and social case work aspects in the chapter to follow.

Correlation of Work

Medical, psychological and psychiatric service, and social case work should not be thought of as three separate and distinct studies, but as parts of the study of the whole individual, the problems in each field being closely related to the other two, and all three interrelated. Factors in the delinquency of an individual do not generally lie wholly in one field. The antisocial responses of a girl may be the result of physical, mental, and social factors, all of which must be considered if there is to be genuine understanding of her conduct. Obviously, there is need of unifying all forces when treatment is to be planned or projects carried out. The psychiatrist has need of the social worker and the social worker has need of the psychiatrist. Jessie Taft, director of the Department of Child Study of the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, in a paper read before the International Conference of Women Physicians in New York in 1920, emphasized this point of view:

> You can see that the case worker has the same problem as the psychiatrist, the problem of finding some way to improve unsuitable behavior in the human being. The psychiatrist has approached the problem from the standpoint of the personality of the maladjusted individual, of the

psychic factors which, unrecognized, have determined the particular form of maladjustment. The case worker, on the other hand, has tended to see the individual more as part of a family, a neighborhood, a city, a nation, and to interpret his maladjustment in terms of the effect of the social and economic environment upon him. The psychiatrist has sought to alter behavior through analysis and re-education of the entire mental life of the individual. The case worker has tried to change behavior through improving the physical, economic, and social conditions in which the individual has been living. . . .

The limitations of the two methods, the need of each for the other, are apparent and in their union . . . we have a powerful instrument for getting at the neurotic girl. The psychiatrist can use the social worker to multiply his usefulness and influence many times. She takes over from the psychiatrist the psychological interpretation of the case, which she lacked before, and, combining it with her knowledge of social conditions, is often able to bring about concrete results in the lives of clinic patients which neither she nor the psychiatrist could have accomplished alone.[1]

Correlation of the different phases of the study of the delinquent girl, and the making and carrying out of projects for her restoration, will receive special attention in the chapter on case work.

Basic Considerations

Before attempting to analyze the situation found in these girls' schools in reference to psychological and psychiatric service and before offering any tentative suggestions on the subject, it seems essential to outline a few basic considerations. It should be borne in mind that these are stated primarily for staff members in girls' training schools, no large number of whom have received instruction in the field of mental hygiene. General theories of crime and misconduct have not been of great assistance in the understanding and effective treatment of individuals—whether adult offenders or children with behavior problems. Among the adherents of the older theories of criminology were those who believed that the "habitual criminal" was born, with definite marks of degeneracy; others, that he was not "born" a criminal but that he was "made" one by the social group and by his physical environment; some

[1] "The Neurotic Child." In Proceedings of the International Conference of Women Physicians, New York, 1920, p. 155.

felt that he was solely a product of economic conditions; still others, avoiding the above extremes, came to believe that there were many causes of crime and many factors in delinquencies, but no accurate system was evolved of giving to each contributing element its comparative importance.

The Delinquent as an Individual. Dr. William Healy is rather generally credited with the establishment of a new theory—that the only sound basis for understanding and treatment lies in the *study of each delinquent as an individual* until the underlying causes of misconduct have been made clear and treatment based on that information has been planned. E. W. Burgess, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, thus gives Dr. Healy the credit for being the first man to introduce the new technique involved in the individualized study of delinquents:

> The study of the delinquent as an individual was introduced by the epochmaking volume, *The Individual Delinquent,* by an American psychiatrist, William Healy. . . . In place of the method of general observation, theoretical speculation and the amassing of available statistical data he substituted the method of case study. This new technique wrought a revolution in criminology. The study of behavior was now placed upon an empirical, inductive basis.[1]

This need of studying and treating children with behavioristic problems as individuals rather than *en masse* can scarcely be overemphasized. If the fundamental purpose of a training school is to readjust and re-educate the individual, then there must be the type of study of each girl that will show us what forms this re-education should take and what are the proper tools to use in the process of her readjustment. Such a study becomes the very pith of the work in a training school for delinquents.

Importance of Psychological and Psychiatric Service. So far we have been speaking of the great importance of the study of the delinquent as an individual. As a second basic consideration, we wish to emphasize specifically the great importance of psychological and psychiatric studies of the individual delinquent in a training school. For a long period, the mental hygiene aspects of delinquency were completely ignored, even after the date when there was

[1] "The Study of the Delinquent as a Person." In American Journal of Sociology Chicago, Vol. 28, May, 1923, pp. 657, 661.

some knowledge of mental defectiveness and disease. Crime and delinquency were thought of as presenting exclusively legal and moral issues. Today the term "insanity" is used almost solely as a legal term and is not in good repute among psychiatrists. We still have juries of lay persons, passing on questions almost purely medical and psychological about which they know nothing. To have a baker and a candlestick-maker pass judgment as jurymen on the responsibility for crime in a person who has a complex which makes it impossible for him to act otherwise than as he does, would seem an absurdity. The same is true, but in a somewhat less degree, of some juvenile court judges. They decide whether a child is to be sent to a correctional institution, to be placed on probation, or they make other disposition of him, without any understanding of his mental mechanisms.

In the past it would have been thought a heresy to consider a young girl sex delinquent as anything other than thoroughly "bad." What were then considered moral problems were actually in many cases primarily mental ones. Up to a dozen years ago, the transition from this old point of view was very slow.

At that time a wave of interest spread over the country—not only in mental defectiveness but also in mental disease. We read constantly in newspapers and magazines about the large number of feeble-minded and insane people included among criminals and delinquents. Perhaps it was natural, after many years of apathy, for the pendulum to swing too far in the other direction. Wild claims were made purporting to show the high proportion of mental defectives and the mentally diseased among those displaying antisocial reactions—claims that could not be substantiated. William I. Thomas, in his book, The Unadjusted Girl, says:

> In the beginning they [workers in this field] overdetermined the value of the psychometric test, because this was the only method psychology had put in their hands, but at present the measurement of intelligence is recognized as having a limited usefulness. "Feeblemindedness" is partly a classificatory term for those personalities whose behavior we have not been able to conform to the usual standards because of lack of knowledge and method. . . . There are certainly cases of constitutional inferiority, but the clinical psychologists are now realizing that these must be studied, like the cases of the maladjustment of the normal, in connec-

tion with life records showing the social influences tending to organize or disorganize the personality.[1]

After this period of overemphasis on intelligence tests and on the alleged relationships between mental defectiveness and delinquency, there came in very recent years the rather wide adoption of what is often termed "the new psychology." This generally means the acceptance of the principles of modern mental hygiene. Many people, especially lawyers, still think of responsibility—both legal and moral—as determined by a clear-cut distinction between conditions which they designate as sanity or insanity. A good many people also continue to think of juvenile delinquents and adult offenders purely as moral transgressors. Modern mental hygiene has taught us that there are many adult criminals and many juvenile delinquents who are neither feeble-minded nor "insane," but in whom there are other mental abnormalities. This was the gist of the argument cited by internationally known psychiatrists in the well-known trial of two young murderers in Chicago. It has been found that there may be mental abnormalities in the individual, which constitute strong factors in his antisocial conduct, though he is neither mentally defective nor mentally diseased. Dr. Healy says on this point:

> A much wider viewpoint has recently been taken—and very correctly taken, I believe—by the exponents of the modern ideas of mental hygiene. It is not only the frank psychoses, the "real cases" of mental disease, and the plain cases of mental defect that are important for the students of mental health, but also many other matters that are to be properly classified as unhealthy functioning of the mental life, and matters that pertain to peculiarities of the structural make-up of the mental powers in a given individual, even though there be no feeblemindedness.
>
> By studies in this field we come across the facts of, as well as the causes for, intense dissatisfactions, grudge formations, impulsions and even obsessions, mental conflicts, jealousies, emotional outbreaks, urgent desires, and other affairs of the mental life as originating from within or from without, any of which directly cause or directly underlie tendencies toward delinquency. Surely these are matters of the highest importance for therapeutic endeavor under the heading of mental hygiene. They are matters of the greatest social as well as personal concern. They require

[1] Criminal Science Monograph, No. 4. Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1923, pp. 251–252.

study which is only competently undertaken by persons with a wide range of knowledge of what is available in psychology, normal and abnormal, and of what bears on the given situation in medicine.[1]

If, as Dr. Healy says, this study should properly be undertaken only by people with a knowledge both of psychology and medicine, there is great need of the services of a psychiatrist in every training school for delinquent girls.

The functions of a psychologist and of a psychiatrist and the contributions of each to the task of a training school for delinquent girls should be separately considered. Some psychologists have practically the point of view of modern psychiatrists but have not had their special training and knowledge in the field of health—both physical and mental. On the other hand, some psychologists largely limit their work to psychometric tests. Both the psychologist and the psychiatrist are much needed members on the staffs of these training schools.

Contribution of a Psychologist. The psychologist is generally an expert in discovering an individual's mental abilities. The first step in this direction is the giving of psychometric or intelligence tests (inaccurately referred to as "mental tests"). These tests constitute a measurement of mental ability, but should never be considered as forming a complete diagnosis. Psychologists generally agree that all present scales or measuring rods of intelligence are imperfect, but that in spite of this fact they are of value. Such a test gives us the mental age of each child, and his "intelligence quotient," the latter term meaning the ratio between mental age and actual physical age. Tests have been worked out which can be passed by the average child of different ages, the best known of these being the Terman Revision of the Binet-Simon Test, which is in common use in training schools for girls. If by this test a twelve-year-old girl is found to have a mental age of twelve, her I. Q. is said to be 100; if her mental age is found to be only six, her I. Q. is 50; if nine, her I. Q. is 75.

Of what value is this information after it is obtained? First, in a training school it is useful in classifying girls in the graded academic school department. Many have been improperly graded

[1] "Mental Hygiene and Delinquency." In Mental Health Primer, Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene, Boston, 1923, Publication No. 42, p. 16.

in outside public schools. Their last known grade does not necessarily show where they should be placed in the school department within the institution. It is vital that these girls should have no mental strain and yet enough stimulus to achieve. The right grade for a girl where the work is neither too difficult nor too easy for her, can be accurately determined only if the results of psychometric tests constitute one basis of the decision. Intelligence tests are also useful as a basis for other forms of classification; for example, to bring together in one cottage backward girls who need a special form of instruction and who would be handicapped socially if they tried to keep pace with normal pupils. Obviously such information is also of use in helping to place the girl in prevocational classes, and so forth, although it should be remembered that these tests alone do not show interests or special aptitudes, but only mental capacity. In the third place, these tests give us a general idea of the intelligence of the individual. While much more needs to be known before a well-defined project can be worked out, the psychometric tests give at least a first rough indication as to which girls are feeble-minded, which are normal, and which are above normal in intelligence.

A note of warning may well be issued here, however. Many a psychologist giving a psychometric test has not learned to evaluate the part played by special handicaps. A child speaking a foreign language, or from a home of recent immigrants, a child who is very shy, or one who has certain physical handicaps, may do very poorly in these tests. His I. Q. may actually advance several degrees in later tests after some of these obstacles have been overcome. Theoretically, a child has, or does not have, a specified amount of mental ability, but in actual cases, especially of problem children, the I. Q. as determined by tests has been known to fluctuate considerably. All the factors which may influence the mental grading of a child should be known to the psychologist and be taken into consideration by him. A second warning which may be needed is that the psychometric test does not aim at any measurement or picture of a child's personality, his emotions, his special interests or his skill in various directions. A different kind of study is needed to bring out these factors. This leads us to a consideration of the work of a psychiatrist in a training school.

Contribution of a Psychiatrist. While some psychologists are interested in the "dynamic phases of mental life" and are able not only to interpret intelligence tests but also to study motivating forces and repressions in the individual, it is the psychiatrist to whom we generally turn for a well-rounded, complete diagnosis and prognosis of the mental life of an unadjusted child. Because of his medical knowledge and his study of mental disease the psychiatrist is able first of all to eliminate possible physical and mental factors which are beyond the scope of the psychologist. All definite psychoses and neuroses require special training both for diagnosis and treatment. While some psychologists are able to give valuable assistance in understanding emotions, personality traits, special abilities and interests, the psychiatrist is generally better equipped to make scientific diagnoses and prognoses of these factors. At the present time this part of the study of an individual has not been reduced to any form such as the Binet-Simon test for intelligence, and perhaps never will be, but there is great value in the descriptive reports of a psychiatrist regarding the mental life of a particular problem child. Thus, while psychology is concerned primarily with mental capacity, psychiatry regards the individual as a whole. Dr. V. V. Anderson, director of the Division on Prevention of Delinquency of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene in his introduction to the pamphlet, The Psychiatric Clinic, summarizes this situation:

> Psychiatry is not interested merely in the determination of feeblemindedness, insanity, and epilepsy among delinquents, and is not concerned merely with the classification of individuals—with pigeonholing them and giving them Latin designations. Treatment and ultimately prevention have ever been the aims of scientific medicine; these seem now to be the dominant aims in the field of psychiatry. . . .
>
> The contribution of psychiatry is to the study of the individual as a whole, in order to determine all of those factors, intrinsic as well as extrinsic, that influence his life behavior, and to map out, in the light of a psychiatric understanding of his case, a well-rounded plan of treatment. Psychiatry has an interest and is seriously concerned in the study and treatment of delinquent behavior as such, without any reference to whether disease or defect is an explanation of that behavior. . . .
>
> The only difference between the psychiatrist and any other physician is that the former concerns himself with the whole individual, as an in-

tegrated organism—not so much with the heart, or lungs, or skin, or gastrointestinal tract, or the nervous system itself, but with these organs as a whole, as an integrated piece of machinery adjusting itself to its environment and expressing itself in behavior.

The psychiatrist approaches the problem of conduct with the idea of finding out and seeking to correct the various causes of maladjustment. These may be purely psychic, or they may be largely an expression of physical ill health—of fatigue, nutritional disturbances, metabolic changes, or disorders of the ductless glands—or they may be environmental in origin.[1]

Present Situation

With this general introduction, it is of interest to note the present situation in the girls' training schools in respect to psychological and psychiatric service. In general, the part of the study of the individual delinquent which is most frequently found in these institutions is the medical; but in many instances this work is of a character which stops short of providing any real contribution toward the discovering of the factors in a girl's delinquency. Psychological and psychiatric phases of the study of the individual are found less frequently than is some form of medical service, but nevertheless more often than social case study of girls still in the care of the institution. More emphasis should be placed on mental hygiene measures in these schools. There should be greater recognition of the value of, and greater utilization of the services of a psychiatrist who can contribute to the understanding of the individual girl and help plan her treatment. With some exceptions which will be noted later, the training schools place too much emphasis on the psychometric test and too little on the study of the whole child from the mental hygiene point of view.

In some institutions, the psychologist examines a new girl as soon after her admission as possible; in others, a short period of "adjustment to her new environment" is planned for each girl before intelligence tests are given. In some schools, the chief use of the findings is to discover girls who are feeble-minded or of low-grade mentality, in order to secure their transfer to another institution, or to provide for special care within the training school.

[1] The Psychiatric Clinic. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, Inc. New York, 1923, pp. 9–10.

In other instances, the results of the psychologist's tests form the basis of academic gradings and are a factor in the system of cottage classifications. In a very few schools only did we feel that the psychological and psychiatric work was of such a type and quality as to render great assistance in understanding and treating scientifically the child with conduct disorders.

The number of schools where any psychological or psychiatric service is available may be shown as follows:

Service Provided	Number of Schools
Services of psychologist only	17
Services of psychiatrist only	5
Services of both psychologist and psychiatrist	8
Neither psychological nor psychiatric service	27
Total schools	57

It is seen from the above statement that in practically half of the girls' training schools studied neither psychological nor psychiatric service is available. In approximately one-third of the entire group there were studies by a psychologist but not by a psychiatrist. In an additional seventh, both a psychologist and a psychiatrist were available. As Dr. Healy says, in the ideal system both are needed since each makes a definite contribution. In one-tenth there was work by a psychiatrist, but not by a psychologist. This means that about one-fourth of the entire group have the services of a psychiatrist alone or a psychiatrist together with a psychologist. The latter schools are in general those which have a resident or visiting psychologist and also use outside psychiatric clinics for special cases.

It is interesting to note the number of schools which had resident workers, regular visiting workers, or which use outside resources. Thus only two of the 57 schools for girls had at the time they were visited a resident psychologist and only one had a resident psychiatrist. As may be seen on the opposite page, included among the schools, where a "resident worker gives tests," were some with resident workers who had had special training for giving intelligence tests, though that work did not constitute their major function on the staff.

Psychological Service	Number of Schools	
Resident psychologist	2	
Regular visiting psychologist	6	
Outside clinic used for intelligence tests	5	
Occasional visiting psychologist	6	
Resident worker gives tests	4	
		23
Psychiatric Service		
Resident psychiatrist	1	
Regular visiting psychiatrist	2	
Outside clinic used for psychiatric work	4	
		7
Neither Type of Service		27
Total schools		57

The extent of the psychological service, whether provided by resident or visiting workers or by outside clinics, may be summarized as follows:

Extent of Psychological Service	Number of Schools
Routine studies of all girls	17
Studies in special cases only	12
All girls from one juvenile court examined	1
None	27
Total schools	57

It is thus seen that approximately one-third of the entire group conducted routine psychological studies of all girls and an additional quarter conducted them in special cases or for all girls coming through one juvenile court.

What are the personal views of the superintendents regarding the value of psychological and psychiatric work in these training schools for delinquent girls? Of the 54 from whom information was received, 40 stated that they definitely favored this type of work. A number in whose institutions there was at the time no such service would have liked to add psychologists or psychiatrists to their staffs.

Miss Marietta Smith, who at the time of our visit was superintendent of the Tennessee Vocational School for Girls, in answer to one of the questions on our schedule of inquiry, stated: "Psychological work in a training school for delinquents is a necessity, if worth-while constructive work is to be done." Mrs. Mae E. Stannard, of The Girls' Industrial School in Ohio, made a similar declaration: "Psychological and psychiatric work in training schools is very valuable. I should like to have a resident psychologist and also the services of a psychiatrist." Mrs. Ruth C. McDonald, superintendent of the Fairwold Industrial School for Colored Girls in South Carolina, wrote in answer to the same inquiry: "It has been proved beyond a doubt that delinquency is largely the result of physical or mental conditions. For this reason, no other sciences could hold such important places in the study and training of delinquents as psychology and psychiatry. Without these, no school is properly equipped."

Miss Jennie F. Sutton, superintendent of the West Virginia Industrial Home for Girls, believes that "psychological work in a training school for delinquents has value if it is in charge of experts who have opportunities of knowing the girls in their daily life." Miss Caroline de F. Penniman, superintendent of Long Lane Farm, Connecticut, strongly approves psychological and psychiatric work in schools of this kind, provided skilled service is obtainable. Dr. Kenosha Sessions, of the Indiana Girls' School, said that she favored a resident expert psychologist "if that person herself were thoroughly normal and had common sense."

Miss Emily Morrison of Sleighton Farm, Pennsylvania, where there is a resident full-time psychologist on the staff writes:

> An understanding by those who work with her of the causes of a girl's misbehavior, of her mental equipment, of her emotional reactions, is as necessary for her successful development as is the diagnosis of a physician of a physical disease—before a cure can be effected. The function of a psychologist and a psychiatrist is to interpret each girl to those who are in charge of her training, discipline, and development. I consider their contribution absolutely essential to constructive work.

Mrs. Fannie French Morse, superintendent of the New York State Training School for Girls, expressed very clearly to the writer her views on this question as follows:

No mechanical tests can take the place of the everyday observations of reactions to the natural processes of life. Since the test of life is living, social fitness should be the gauge of living efficiency. It is not a question if this girl can reach up to certain mathematical or abstract reasoning processes, but it is a question if she can become a useful member of society. Mechanical tests can be made most useful in determining the placement of a child in academic grades, but no mechanical tests have yet been devised that . . . can unreservedly foretell the future development of this child. Psychological and psychiatric work should be most carefully handled, otherwise they become within the institution, as well as in the future life of the child, destructive rather than constructive forces. They are arts which should be practiced only by the rare expert.

Most of these superintendents, who believe that psychologists have much to contribute toward the constructive work of a training school for delinquents, or that they are essential, felt the need of trained experts. They wished to avoid students who had merely taken "a summer course in methods of intelligence testing." A number also emphasized the need of a resident worker who could know the girls in their cottages, in school, at work and at play. They demand more from a psychologist than that she see a newly admitted girl for an hour or two in an office and then grade her by "mental age."

In the Girls' Training School at Gainesville, Texas, a resident psychologist made routine studies of all new girls. She gave subsequent tests as need indicated, but not as a routine matter. She used the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Test, Dr. Healy's Schedule A, the Crossline Tests, and Healy's Pictorial Completion Test. The psychologist and the superintendent, at the time of our visit, Dr. Carrie Weaver Smith, talked over difficult conduct cases, and occasionally held formal conferences. This school also had a resident physician and made some attempt to correlate the medical and psychological work.

Sleighton Farm, Pennsylvania, also employs a resident, full-time psychologist who gives intelligence tests as a routine matter to every new girl. The girl tells her story to the psychologist rather than to the superintendent. It frequently takes from three to five interviews for the psychologist to feel sure that she has secured "a full and frank statement." The first interview generally occurs

within 48 hours after a girl's reception. The first intelligence test is not given until after the girl has been at Sleighton Farm for two or three weeks. It is felt that she needs this opportunity for readjustment before she will make normal and natural responses. The psychologist uses the Terman Revision of the Binet-Simon Test, together with special tests, such as commonsense, performance and educational tests; also some of Dr. Healy's special tests. She keeps in as close touch as possible with the girls and the officers, attends all student government meetings, and makes special studies of pupils who present difficult conduct problems, attempting to interpret them to their cottage mothers. She is most anxious that her service be not limited to "diagnosing mental status." This school also has a resident, full-time woman physician.

The California School for Girls at Ventura, at the time of our study, depended upon the Bureau of Juvenile Research of the Whittier State School (for boys) for its psychological work. A woman psychologist came to Ventura to give routine intelligence tests to every new girl within a month after her admission. Subsequent tests were given in special cases. The Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Test, performance tests, and other special tests were used. This school also had a resident, full-time physician.

At Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut, a visiting psychologist (a man) from Yale University, gave routine tests to all new girls. The Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Test, Yerkes-Bridges Point Scale, and special tests were used. He advised with the superintendent regarding girls that presented unusually difficult behavior problems and gave valuable assistance.

All girls sent by the Boston Juvenile Court to the Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster, Massachusetts, have been thoroughly studied in the clinic of the Judge Baker Foundation, of which Dr. William Healy is the director. There is probably no more intensive or extensive, individualized study of juvenile delinquents anywhere than is found in this clinic. A child is studied from every point of view—medical, psychological, psychiatric and social. Case conferences are held where all findings are discussed and plans of treatment made. At the request of the Girls' Parole Branch of the Massachusetts Training Schools, this clinic also renders valuable aid in additional cases that have not come from the Boston Juvenile

Court. Dr. Healy's reports on these girls are sent to the office of the Parole Branch which in turn reports the findings to the superintendent of the institution.

Needs in This Field

As a result of our study of the psychological and psychiatric service in these 57 schools, we feel that four main needs in this field stand out above all others:

1. There is very great need of the maintenance of a scientific attitude toward the problems of juvenile delinquency. A training school which provides good physical care for its girls, treats them kindly and offers fairly high grade academic and prevocational training, has traveled only a short distance toward the ultimate goal if at the same time it does not make a thorough study of the individual child from every point of view. This means an individualized study by physician, psychologist, psychiatrist, and social worker. Each of these specialists will think of delinquency as something caused and will try to determine the underlying factors.

2. If at all possible, every training school for girls should have the services of both a psychologist and a psychiatrist. This idea will probably not be attained for a long time to come. There is a dearth of trained specialists in these fields and the smaller institutions will feel that they cannot pay the necessary salaries. All of the larger institutions should have a resident psychologist, or psychiatrist. It will probably be more practicable to try to obtain a psychologist who has had experience in working with a psychiatrist, than to employ a full-time psychiatrist. Psychiatrists command much higher compensations. A resident psychologist might carry some other duties, as principal of the academic school or director of student government. If a training school is near a large center it may be possible, in addition to the resident psychologist, to have part-time services of a visiting psychiatrist. If this cannot be done, special problem cases can often be taken outside to a psychiatric clinic. Better have no psychological or psychiatric service than to have it undertaken by novices. No work requires a personnel better trained and of higher calibre.

3. No school should be satisfied with securing from a psychologist or a psychiatrist only the diagnosis for the individual girl; it should

insist on receiving a practicable plan of treatment which the institution can attempt to carry out. This should be based on the findings of all the specialists who contribute to the study of the individual. This will be considered further in the next chapter.

4. In addition to the services of specialists, in the medical, mental hygiene, and social work fields every training school should make a great effort to secure on its staff workers with the girls who have some knowledge of modern child psychology. It will be difficult to carry out a modern, mental hygiene program for a child unless the teachers, cottage mothers, recreation directors and others who come in close contact with the girls every day understand thoroughly what is being done, why it is being done, and offer complete co-operation. In fact, the actual carrying out of projects with the individual child must largely be done by these other officers.

A scientifically sound mental hygiene program which will meet the needs of the individual girls will not only make a great contribution to the schools themselves but to the understanding of behavior problems of all children.

CHAPTER XIV

SOCIAL CASE WORK

BROADLY interpreted, "case work" includes all the phases of the study of the individual delinquent previously outlined in these pages. It is a comprehensive term which might be interpreted to include the physical, mental, and strictly social study of the individual with behavior problems. The separate parts of that study which are made by the physician, psychologist, psychiatrist, and social case worker may all be considered phases of case work.

In the foregoing chapters we have discussed the physical and mental hygiene aspects of the study of an individual child with conduct disorders; in this chapter we shall consider the distinctive contribution of a girls' training school that may be made by a person with the training of a social case worker; and the correlation of all the phases of the study. We shall note the efforts to bring together the findings of all the specialists mentioned in their study of the girl in a training school and to work out together definite plans and projects for her rehabilitation.

Until fairly recent years the average person has thought of case work as being limited largely to the processes involved in the giving of relief to people in financial difficulties. It is only recently that there has been any wide acceptance of the idea that not the poor alone but even the rich may need the services of a social case worker. The advent of the "new psychology" and the rapid development of the mental hygiene movement in the past ten or twelve years has exerted great influence upon the work done by the case workers themselves and upon the common conception of social case work. Mary E. Richmond tells us that "*Social case work consists of those processes which develop personality through adjustments consciously effected, individual by individual, between men and their social environment.*"[1] It is only in fairly recent years, in state and national conferences and in other gatherings of specialists in social

[1] What Is Social Case Work? Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1922, pp. 98–99.

work, that we have heard discussions showing that questions of personality are now considered of prime importance in social case work.

A worker from the mental hygiene field, who is also a social case worker, tells us that social case work means "social treatment of a maladjusted individual involving an attempt to understand his personality, behavior, and social relationships, and to assist him in working out a better social and personal adjustment."

Social case work as thus defined is obviously applicable to any one who is not properly adjusted, no matter what his or her economic status. Case work actually resolves itself into a mental hygiene program for the individual carried on by one who combines with a knowledge of psychology special skill in properly adjusting the individual and his social environment. This implies the ability to use social resources to achieve the desired end, a normally adjusted, well-functioning individual.

Importance in a Training School. From this brief discussion of the meaning and content of social case work, it is readily seen that a specialist in this field has a great contribution to make to a progressive training school. No intensive study of a delinquent girl is complete without both a clear picture of her social responses and behavior and a careful analysis of family, neighborhood, and community conditions. All these factors need interpretation in their relationship to the particular antisocial acts of a child. If we are to understand a specific case of maladjustment, we want to know, in addition to the individual's physical condition, mental life and social responses, something of his family, and of the physical and social conditions under which he has been living at home and in the community. In almost every case of juvenile delinquency, there is not a single factor, but several factors. Before we are in a position to plan treatment and training we must seek understanding through study of the case from all points of view including that of the social case worker. This person, who has been trained to think of an individual in relation to his immediate and his larger groups has an especially important contribution to make in a training school for juvenile delinquents.

Special Needs

More Emphasis on Contribution of Social Case Worker. As a result of our study of 57 schools for girls, we feel that there are

four special needs in respect to social case work in these institutions. First, much more emphasis should be placed on the contribution that can be made by a social case worker. Not only these workers appreciate this need but psychiatrists, psychologists, physicians, and teachers have expressed to us their belief that it would greatly increase the value of their work in these schools for delinquent girls. It is an expert in the field of mental hygiene who thus recognizes the need of knowledge of *social* factors if we are to understand the behavior problems of the individual:

> Scientific study of delinquents can not possibly leave out of account the forces or the negative elements in the individual's experiences and environmental life which in any ascertainable measure have tended toward the production of his delinquency. No careful evaluation of causes or of the outlook can afford to neglect any of the possible factors such as companionship, street life, poor parental understanding and control, vicious example in the home, special temptations that are offered through unfortunate recreations and occupations. . . .[1]

It is not enough to make an exhaustive physical examination of a child, to give him intelligence and other tests and to have a psychiatrist observe him. A social case study of every juvenile delinquent should be made by a trained case worker.

The outline-form used in summaries of cases by the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston indicates the various aspects of the complete study of a juvenile delinquent, including important social factors. The findings of each specialist regarding a child are brought together and summarized under the following headings:

- Problem
  - Physical
  - Mental
    - Abilities
    - Mental balance
    - Personality
- Background
  - Heredity
  - Developmental
  - Home conditions
  - Habits
- Probable Direct Causations
- Prognosis and Recommendations

[1] Healy, William, The Practical Value of Scientific Study of Juvenile Delinquents. U. S. Children's Bureau, Publication No. 96, Washington, 1922, p. 26.

Such information for each girl, compiled by specialists should lead to much wiser treatment and consequently to a larger proportion of girls who are permanently and successfully readjusted.

Case Worker for Each Training School. If this type of social case work is to be done, it seems practically essential that each school for delinquents have at least one trained social case worker on its own staff; the larger institutions actually need several such workers. Those already employed are sometimes called "home investigators" to distinguish them from the parole agents, who also do case work. These latter, however, are occupied only with the girls about to leave the institution on parole and those already on parole.[1] A home investigator is responsible to the same person as are the parole agents. As we have stated previously, dependence cannot be placed on receiving from outside courts and other social agencies complete reports of a type which will be helpful in understanding the individual girl. In many cases, very meager information is sent, or none at all, and in others the information is not of a type to be of much value in determining causes of delinquency. While endeavoring to get better records from courts and community agencies, the institution will still feel the need of having its own social case worker.

In those institutions where, soon after her admission, visits are now made to a girl's own home, the main purposes of such visits seem to be:

1. To create a friendly spirit between the school and the girl's family
2. To interpret the function of the training school to the girl's family
3. To secure active family co-operation from the family (where this is feasible) in the difficult task ahead
4. To study family and home conditions for any light they may cast on causations of behavior
5. In a very few cases to attempt the rehabilitation of the family itself

In regard to the last item there is a great difference of opinion among superintendents as to the desirability of the schools' attempting family rehabilitation. Some feel that all such work

[1] For a discussion of this work, see Chapter XXI, Parole, p. 375.

should be handled by family welfare societies and other community agencies equipped to do it. In rural communities or small towns where there are no organized local resources for this work, some superintendents feel that the institution should attempt to rehabilitate the girl's family, not only to prepare for the girl's return, but also to prevent other children in the family from following in her footsteps. A few have emphasized the point that the training school might be able to effect changes in the family situation when some private social agency could not. Improved conditions might be made a requisite of the girl's return in cases where the family's standards were low but where there was a great desire on its part to have her come home.

Those opposed to adding family rehabilitation to the task of a training school feel that in many cases it would be done superficially; that it is not likely that many of these institutions would add to their staff well-trained case workers, and that the task of re-educating and readjusting a delinquent girl constitutes difficult and specialized work not be to combined with that of family rehabilitation. The writer's personal opinion is that regardless of the merits of the case, as a matter of fact, very few of these institutions for many years to come will make any appreciable effort to carry on intensive work with the families of the girls in care. The home investigation will probably be undertaken chiefly (1) to seek understanding and co-operation from the family, and (2) to discover factors in the behavior problems of the girl in care. This observation does not apply to visits to the girl's home by parole agents just prior to her release from the institution, in order to learn whether it will be possible to return her to her own family.

In attempting through a visit to the girl's home soon after her commitment to the institution to secure information which may be of value in understanding her conduct difficulties, it is fundamental that the approach be sympathetic and friendly. At first, the parents and relatives may be reticent about giving information, but in many cases the truth can be secured after they are convinced that the details requested will aid the institution in dealing with the girl successfully.

Trained Service Essential. It is obvious that a trained person is essential for this kind of work. She should have received special

instruction at a college or school of social work in the principles and technique of social case work, or should have had experience in outside case work agencies; preferably, she should have had both types of training. She should spend sufficient time in the institution to become familiar with its ideals, program, and régime. In our opinion, she need not have worked in any other capacity in the institution, for a well-trained case worker will be able quickly to get the point of view of its work with the girls. It is even more important that she have psychological understanding and insight than that a worker in an outside community agency have such equipment. In these schools are brought together some of the most difficult mental hygiene problems to be found in the state. In addition to the services of a psychologist and a psychiatrist, a social case worker who also has a knowledge of mental hygiene is invaluable.

Correlation Necessary. A final important need in these schools is to correlate all phases of the study of the individual child. The findings of each specialist—medical, psychological, psychiatric, and social—should be brought together to form a complete report regarding the problems presented by the individual, and should give a comprehensive picture. Where possible, all who have contributions to the understanding of the particular child should be brought together personally in case conferences. At such conferences, not only the physician, the psychiatrist or psychologist, and social worker should be present but the members of the institutional staff who come in close daily contact with the girls, such as the cottage mother, teacher or principal of the academic school, recreation director, and student government director. After the complete findings have been presented at such a conference, a definite plan of treatment should be outlined by those present, which should include detailed projects—definite activities—for the particular girl. This is an ideal far in advance of present practices in most training schools, but nevertheless it is something toward which they should definitely work.

Present Situation

The lack of adequate social case work of the right type with the girls while they are still living in the training school is one of the

most serious deficiencies found in the writer's study of these institutions. Even in the most progressive institutions, this work is as yet very little developed. Some schools that have reasonably efficient parole departments and do fairly satisfactory work with the girls on parole give no emphasis to the contribution of a social case worker to the task of understanding and readjusting the girl while she is in the institution. Most of the superintendents, as we noted in Chapter III, The Staff, are not themselves trained or experienced social case workers, and it is perhaps natural for them to place more emphasis on other phases of the institutional program.

The question of correlation of all the findings is also given inadequate attention. In some schools, we felt that specialists working separately were each doing a good piece of work but that very meager attention was being given to the development of a well-rounded plan to meet all of the needs of a girl. In many instances, the principal of the academic school did not know what the physician had learned regarding a girl. Often the physician and psychologist did not work closely enough together. We found that in only a few instances had a real beginning been made in holding the kind of staff conferences mentioned above.

At the time of our study, in the 57 schools visited there were only three social case workers (known as home investigators), in addition to a very few superintendents and some parole officers who had had social service training. Only three of the 57 schools attempted any family rehabilitation work. While but three institutions had home investigators, there were seven where a member of the staff, generally a parole agent, visited the home of each new girl as soon as possible after her admission. In four additional schools, a representative of the institution visited the homes of many of the girls, but not of all. Thus, in less than one-fifth was there first-hand knowledge of a girl's family and home conditions and of her life prior to her admittance obtained by a visit to her home. In the remaining four-fifths, the training schools depended on the courts and other local social agencies to make all social case work studies and to forward reports to them. Many superintendents feel that much is gained toward an understanding of the girl through the visits of her family and relatives to the institution. As "visiting days" are conducted in some institutions, however,

it is very questionable whether the impressions and information gained in this way have much, if any, scientific value.

At Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut, in addition to three full-time parole officers, there was one home investigator who had had experience in a family welfare society and with one of the outstanding children's aid societies. This worker made an effort to visit the home of a girl within a month after she was received in the institution. She co-operated with local agencies in attempting family rehabilitation. It is the policy of this institution to co-operate with local agencies, but also where necessary to make some attempt itself toward rehabilitation. It considers that local agencies often do not have the same interest in these girls' homes as the institution has. The superintendent stated that it had been found that many children came from the most degenerate families with whom social agencies had been unsuccessful hitherto in bringing about needed improvements.

In only two or three girls' training schools did we find anything approaching complete correlation of all phases of the study of the individual delinquent as a matter of routine. In a number of schools, close co-operation existed between the institution and an outside psychiatric clinic or bureau. At the Girls' Industrial School in Ohio, for instance, the superintendent was working closely with and receiving much assistance from the Ohio Bureau of Juvenile Research. The superintendent of the State Training School for Girls in Illinois was seeking advice and help in special cases from the Institute for Juvenile Research in Chicago. The Parole Branch of the Industrial School for Girls in Massachusetts maintained close working relations with the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston. At the Girls' Training School in Gainesville, Texas, the superintendent and the resident psychologist talked over difficult cases from time to time, and occasionally more formal staff conferences were held. At these conferences the superintendent, the resident physician, the psychologist, the school principal and the recreation director, all made contributions. This superintendent considered correlation exceedingly desirable.

At Sleighton Farm, Pennsylvania, conferences are held at which the superintendent, assistant superintendent, resident psychologist, school principal, and the parole agents discuss individual girls

nearing parole. The secretary of the parole department gives the reports of the physician and of the director of student government who do not attend these meetings. The task in this case is primarily to develop the best possible parole plans, rather than to evolve methods of treatment for the girls still in the school.

Probably the best example of complete correlation and project planning in these schools was found in El Retiro, established by the city and county of Los Angeles during the World War. It was difficult to decide whether this small school should be included in our study of public institutions for delinquent girls. The girl may have committed some definite antisocial act, may be considered a potential delinquent, or may simply seem to be in need of a period of readjustment and re-education. The Los Angeles Juvenile Court, of which Dr. Miriam Van Waters is referee, does not commit girls to El Retiro, but "places" them there. A difficult and unresponsive case can be sent later to the State School at Ventura. While El Retiro cannot be compared with the state training schools for girls the interesting work being done there should be noted. Before a girl goes to El Retiro, preliminary examinations and tests are made in the Los Angeles detention home, known as "Juvenile Hall." After another period of observation at El Retiro, a conference is held concerning this girl and her problems. At one such conference which we attended, there were present the referee of the Juvenile Court, probation officer, psychologist of the court (who also served El Retiro), superintendent of El Retiro, principal of El Retiro academic school, the recreation director, the "field secretary" (parole agent), and for part of the conference one of the El Retiro girls—the counselor of the student government association. The court physician generally attends also. Each person made her contribution toward a better understanding of the particular girl under consideration; then a tentative plan of activities or a "project" for her was outlined by the group. The recreation director was largely responsible for the carrying out of this program for the girl during her period of readjustment in El Retiro.

If in the future there are more training schools for girls where treatment and work programs are based on scientific diagnosis of the individual case, and where the diagnosis is preceded by an

intensive study of all factors including social, we may expect greater success in returning to the community well balanced, wholesome girls qualified to take their places as upright citizens. Such a program means also a distinct contribution toward the prevention of juvenile delinquency in our country since in this way we may learn of factors to be avoided and of conditions to be met outside of the institution.

PART III

HER EDUCATION AND TRAINING

CHAPTER XV

ACADEMIC AND ÆSTHETIC EDUCATION

WHAT is meant by "education"? It has so long been emphasized by writers and practitioners in this field that "education is life," that the statement seems almost a truism. This definition implies, of course, that the training and instruction given in our school system should not constitute merely a preparation for living after school days are over, but should be thought of as part of life itself. Education in its broadest sense fits an individual to make better social adjustments and hence is a preparation for later living, while at the same time he is experiencing life itself. This idea is not a new one. For decades it has been accepted by leading thinkers in this field although in many of our public schools it has not yet been put into practice.

Since education is life, the processes involved must be those of natural growth. As far back as Rousseau's time it was emphasized that the vital process in education is natural expansion and not something superimposed. In our modern experimental schools, where everything is done to make possible and to encourage a full and unhampered development of the individual child's mind and body, it is not a new principle which is involved, but a practical application of ideas which have been held by leaders for decades and even centuries.

In our treatment here of the subject of education, we are distinguishing between academic and æsthetic education, on the one hand, and prevocational and vocational training on the other. The academic school, as it is found in these institutions, means for our purpose the "book school" or the "school of letters." Here instruction is given in the common branches as taught in our graded public schools. When we speak of æsthetic education we are referring to instruction in special cultural subjects such as music or the other fine arts. Vocational education means a definite

training for a vocation or trade. The term "prevocational training," as we use it, means a beginning in or a preparation for vocational training. Often prevocational education does not extend much beyond the discovery of aptitudes and the arousing of interests in a pupil.

Perhaps there should be no such distinction between different types of training in the public school curricula; in fact, we believe that in a well-rounded program these various phases of education might well be so interrelated as to be almost indistinguishable. For example, there may be no better way for a group of children to learn the proper use of words, sentence formation, and oral expression than to explain the processes involved in some act connected with prevocational training. The same relationship may be worked out between æsthetic and academic education.

The fact is, however, that in these schools academic and prevocational training generally constitute two distinct phases of the program, the teachers of which are often responsible to separate institutional authorities. The school principal very often has supervision only of academic classes. In a few schools the music teacher and recreation teacher are responsible to her also. It is exceptional for the trade teachers to be considered on the same basis as the academic teachers and responsible to the same person. The usual practice is for the vocational teachers to report to some special person, as the assistant superintendent who is also interested in keeping up the stock of articles made by the vocational classes. Since this sharp distinction exists in many of these institutions it seems best for the purposes of our discussion to treat these subjects separately; we shall therefore limit ourselves in this chapter to academic and æsthetic education. In the following chapter we shall take up prevocational and vocational training.

The importance of education in general can scarcely be overestimated. People cannot take their proper part in a democratic government unless they can read and write, and unless their minds have been trained to observe and pass judgment. A true democracy is probably not possible where only a few are educated. Universal free education is of great importance because it opens opportunities to the individual and makes it possible for him to gain more that is worth while from his life.

Academic education is necessary in a complex, organized society. In our present relationships, it seems essential that people, as a whole, should know certain rudiments or else there would be lacking complete means of communicating with others or of benefiting from their experience. Purely æsthetic education is also needed as one means of self-expression. An appreciation of the beautiful, gained through the study of music or the other arts, causes the individual's life to be enriched. Life in the community as a whole may thereby be rendered less narrow and be kept on a higher plane.

If education in general and specifically academic and æsthetic education are of value to people at large, they are even more important for the disadvantaged in a training school for girls. It is true that many of these children have failed in the public school and that the academic facilities provided for them in the past have not been of great assistance. This makes it more vital to provide the right kind of educational facilities in the training school. With the present attitude of the public toward these institutions, girls generally leave them under some handicap. It is important, therefore, that they do not suffer the additional handicap of having missed such formal education as their mental equipment would permit.

In the best training schools for girls, the providing of "book knowledge" is, of course, not the chief task. We have already seen that their fundamental function is to help the girl to find herself through proper diagnosis, treatment, and readjustment. Under the old-fashioned type of educational system where the making of grades was considered of prime importance, the main object of the girls' sojourn in these institutions was probably forwarded very little by their educational work. Under the newer ideas, education in its various aspects becomes increasingly important. Moreover, there is no group for whom instruction in and appreciation of the arts is of more value. Love of the beautiful and a desire for harmony are of distinct therapeutic import. The whole trend of a girl's life may be changed by her being brought to realize new cultural values. Instead of seeking expression for her feelings in the morbid and coarse side of life she may find that expression in socially admissible activities and even perhaps in the arts and crafts.

Educational Problems

Aims of Educational System. While the education of these disadvantaged girls should have many of the same aims as those for pupils in a public school system and while they should perhaps receive some prevocational training and instruction in cultural subjects in common with their sisters in outside schools, the objective of social adjustment is particularly important and vital for these girls.

If a modern and progressive type of education is provided, such education in itself may constitute a fundamental part of the process of social adjustment.

Outside schools which have accepted this objective of social adjustment have been the means of giving formal education a social interpretation. If the school trains the child to become a well-adjusted individual and to lead a happy, useful life in organized society, then it is actually a social institution. Recognizing that the aims of education and social work lie in the same direction, some of the most progressive public schools have added to their staffs trained social case workers whom they designate "visiting teachers."[1]

There is great difference of opinion between workers in this field as to how far these training schools for delinquents should go in providing advanced academic education. Some feel that no attempt should be made beyond diagnosis of their particular problems and stimulation of their mental faculties; that one should stop with an understanding of the pupil and the arousing and holding of her interest. Most agree, however, that the students who can benefit from academic education should be given every advantage possible.

Use of Outside Schools. Among the superintendents of these girls' training schools, we found different opinions regarding the advantages and disadvantages of pupils' attending outside public schools. While many believe that the wards of institutions for dependents should attend outside schools, the problems connected with delinquent girls make such a plan impossible or inadvisable

[1] The Commonwealth Fund, New York, has recently completed an interesting five years' demonstration (co-operating with local school systems) in placing 30 trained visiting teachers in cities, smaller communities, and rural districts.

for any large proportion of them; and even if some can attend a public day school, a school within the institution will be needed for others. Those who favor outside attendance for many of the girls argue that it increases normal contacts of these girls with the outside world, and, moreover, many institutions cannot afford so good a school as is maintained by the public authorities of some nearby community. Those who do not favor the plan say that the girls themselves are often made unhappy because of social ostracism and that other pupils and their parents are sometimes not ready to receive the girls from a training school for delinquents. The question is also raised whether some of these delinquent girls, if they are proper subjects for a training school, should be sent where they will mingle with other girls and with boys. A third point raised by some is that since the public schools (as they claim) have already failed with these children they now need a specialized education, such as may be provided within the institution.

As a result of our study we believe that in practically all the 57 schools there should be a good academic department. In many it is not possible because of their location or the attitude of the community to send pupils to an outside school. In other instances where some might be sent, a good school in the institution for the remaining girls is still necessary. Moreover, those sent out should be selected with care, and the methods of instruction in the outside school should be modern and suited to the needs of these girls. Normal contacts with the outside world are very valuable, but may be worked out in other ways.

Opportunities for Research. In a modern training school for girls there is an excellent opportunity to carry on educational research which should be valuable not only to correctional and other types of institutions but also to the public school system. All the activities in a modern training school may be so correlated as to make the life in the institution practically an instrument in applied education. Here we have girls living in small cottages, making it possible to correlate home and school life under the supervision of cottage mothers much more closely than is generally possible in an outside community. One central source of authority governs the cottage and school life as well as the free time of the pupils. Moreover, the period of instruction can be twelve months instead

of nine or ten. If education really is life, the whole régime in the institution is a part of the educational process. Academic and æsthetic classes, vocational, prevocational, and religious instruction, outdoor work and play, and cottage life may all be closely related. The academic teachers may also have the girls under observation outside of their time in the school. This almost unique opportunity is only partly realized by those in charge of these schools and in still less degree is any such laboratory actually being operated.

Methods of Instruction. The methods of instruction in academic or æsthetic branches should be largely the same as those found in our most progressive public schools. In a training school for delinquents, however, there is added need for dynamic, applied education. Since the outside schools have failed to interest most of these girls, special effort must now be made to do so. There is no group for which there is greater need of individualized education, as each girl presents special problems (physical, mental, or social) peculiar to herself. It is not so much a question of having a unique specialized educational system in these schools because they care for delinquents as it is a question of these girls needing the best known educational procedure—a procedure which is now far from universal in our public schools. Individualized, organic education is needed for all pupils, but especially for such girls as these. In a training school for girls there are likely to be mental defectives as well as many who possess normal intelligence but who are retarded in academic school because of long absences, lack of application, or physical handicap. The special requirements of these groups can only be met by special methods. Mentally low-grade children will probably benefit most from occupational activities and perhaps from prevocational training. Retarded children may require much individualized instruction in special classes. The methods used with these two groups may well be patterned after the best methods now employed for these same types in the most progressive outside schools and special institutions.

Instruction in music should include both group work and individual lessons; the latter may be provided for girls who are especially gifted; also as a therapeutic measure for difficult girls, many of whom have been helped to find themselves through music.

Amateur Theatricals

Making Geography Interesting

Music should not be reserved as a reward, but rather used as one means of reaching the girl who presents conduct difficulties. As a whole, the musical program in a school for delinquent girls should emphasize group activities. In this way a larger number may be reached and the music exert a healing power over the entire group. The aim in singing classes should be not performance but participation. The goal should not be highly skilled individual performance, but the greatest good to the largest number.

We should not leave the subject of music in correctional institutions without mentioning the interesting experiment carried on by the Committee for the Study of Music in Institutions, which was established in New York as the result of community singing during the World War. This committee in one of its reports gives the following account of its activities:

> Closely interwoven with the formation of the Committee is Mr. Willem van de Wall, a very unusual and interesting worker. He is the agent of the Committee and is endeavoring to demonstrate clearly that music is of far greater importance in the care of the unfortunate inmates of public and private institutions than has yet been realized. The relation of music to behavior in corrective institutions, its quieting effects on persons suffering from nervous and mental disorders, have been indisputably proven since Mr. van de Wall has been at work.[1]

Under such a program, while music is a part of the educational plan, it is also a definite part of the disciplinary program. In an article entitled "Music in Correctional Institutions," Mr. van de Wall says, "The wonderful power of music . . . is that it may stimulate a person to feel, and think about, and act upon, a certain thing which it is necessary and good and beautiful for him to do for himself. And that is why music is an essential in a training course designed to develop self-mastery and perseverance in the weak of will."[2]

Mr. van de Wall is now continuing the same type of activity, demonstrating the therapeutic value of music, as a field representative of the Bureau of Mental Health of the Pennsylvania Department of Welfare.

[1] The Seventy-Eighth Annual Report of the Prison Association of New York. Albany, 1922, p. 47.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 60.

The Course of Study. The course of study in a training school for girls probably requires some adaptation from that used in the best outside public schools. This need is more clearly discernible than in regard to the methods of instruction, partly due to the fact that within one group in a training school and often under one teacher there is a very heterogeneous school population. In some respects, however, the problems here presented resemble those confronting the teacher of the one-room rural public school. An interesting experiment was started a few years ago under the supervision of Columbia University in a one-teacher rural school in Warren County, New Jersey. It was felt that since the small school of one or two teachers would probably continue for a long time, there should be some research into the technique of teaching under such conditions and into the problems of effective administration. The first problem attacked was the reduction of the classes to a practicable number. In doing this, such questions as these had to be answered: What grades should work together? How many grades should there be in one group? Should the group be the same for all school subjects? In working out these problems there was great flexibility of grouping. Some children were in one grade in one subject and in different grades in other subjects. Initiative and personal responsibility on the part of the pupils were definitely encouraged. The results reported have been an improvement in school citizenship and a promotion of the fundamentals of education. Such an experiment should be of interest to many teachers in these training schools who have in one room pupils who might, if in an outside elementary school, be distributed among all the eight grades.

Another reason for adaptation of the course of study is that in most of these training schools girls attend academic school for only half-day sessions, five days a week, the other half-day being given over to the work of the institution and to prevocational training. A very few institutions devote the full day to academic studies. If fewer hours are to be given to academic instruction, it is especially important that the subjects included should be those which constitute the best training for life and which will enable the girls to live most fully while they are still in the training school. Another point is that very few of these girls continue their

academic education after leaving the institution. We are told that the majority of the girls work a brief period and then marry while still comparatively young. Their ultimate vocation is home-making, which, of course, includes the care and training of children, as well as the care of the home. Some training schools recognize this fact and adapt their curriculum to equip the girls to meet these future responsibilities. The following outline of a course, given three times a week to girls in the sixth grade at Sleighton Farm, Pennsylvania, illustrates the way in which this need is being met in one institution in respect to one subject:

HEALTH AND HOUSE—SIXTH GRADE

I. The Body
  1. Bones and muscles. Importance of correct posture.
  2. Digestive system:
    a. Follow a piece of bread from the mouth until it becomes assimilated in the body, explaining different food elements and what each element does in the body.
    Talk about care of teeth.
  3. Circulatory system:
    a. Explain circulation of blood. Function of heart.
    b. Relation of clothing to respiration.
  4. Respiratory system:
    a. How blood is renewed and purified. Danger of impure air.
    b. Emphasize need of bathing frequently.

II. The House
  1. How houses are
    a. Heated
    b. Lighted
    c. Ventilated
    d. Supplied with water. Explain simple principles of plumbing.
  2. Furnishings:
    a. Discuss furnishings of living room, dining room, bedrooms, and kitchens with reference to sanitary requirements, conveniences, color harmony, and expense.
  3. Cleaning of the house:
    a. Review the principles of cleaning.
  4. Care of and disposal of food:
    a. Care of utensils, refrigerator, cellar, and pantry.

III. Health and Community

1. Threatened by danger of infection, due to
   - *a.* Improper care of garbage
   - *b.* Unclean back yards, streets, and alleys
   - *c.* Careless personal habits
   - *d.* Overcrowded tenement conditions
   - *e.* Sweatshops
2. Threatened by alcoholism:
   - *a.* Danger to posterity
3. Threatened by venereal diseases:
   - *a.* Danger to posterity
4. Duty of every person to
   - *a.* Observe clean personal habits.
   - *b.* Observe moral and health laws.
   - *c.* Keep houses and premises clean.
   - *d.* Make proper disposal of garbage and refuse.
   - *e.* Work for laws that will prevent overcrowding, sweatshop conditions, alcoholism, and so forth.

In this school, which has one of the best academic departments found in our study, the principal explained the adaptations and modifications of the course of study as follows:

1. English—emphasizing letter writing, correct speaking, and good reading;
2. Arithmetic—confining the work to elementary processes, home budgets, and common-sense problems;
3. Current events and citizenship—introducing the geography and history necessary to make one intelligent about modern events;
4. Hygiene—personal, community, and child care;
5. Home economics—the tasteful arrangement and care of homes;
6. General science and nature study.

As is shown in this list, formal grammar, history, and geography are not taught as special subjects, the girls obtaining a knowledge of them through other courses and by reading biographies. The principles of grammar are learned through the general English course. Much emphasis is placed on nature study and general science. In no other institution did we find a group of girls with so much general information on birds, flowers, and so forth, or with a more wholesome interest in them.

The definitely feeble-minded at Sleighton Farm live in a cottage nearly a mile from the village group. They have a special teacher who meets their particular needs. The school principal believes that every girl in the institution should have the "therapeutic stimulus" of some mental occupation; that the relationship between teacher and pupil may constitute one means of reaching the girl with a serious conduct problem. It is felt that entirely apart from the question of mental progress, the right kind of school life is vital for these girls because it has a wholesome, cleansing, and healing effect. While no effort is made to mold the academic work after the exact pattern of a public school, it has been found that a girl upon completing a certain grade at Sleighton Farm can enter a corresponding grade in an outside school. In mental training the principal feels that her girls are not handicapped, though they have not received specific instruction in all the subjects included in a public school curriculum. Their education has been a training for usefulness and happiness in the environment in which they will probably live on leaving the institution.

A number of other institutions have adapted their courses of study to include instruction in subjects not given in all good public schools; a very few beginnings have been made, as noted in a previous chapter, in sex instruction; some conduct home-nursing classes with emphasis on the proper care and feeding of babies, as well as the care of the sick. These classes are sometimes given in co-operation with the American Red Cross. Graded classes in moral principles or simple ethics have been considered in some institutions. While one or two conduct Bible classes as part of the academic school curriculum, there is as yet no graded instruction in religious education. There will be further reference to this subject in Chapter XVIII, Moral and Religious Training.

Trained Personnel. It cannot be stated too strongly that these disadvantaged and unadjusted girls need highly trained, capable teachers for all parts of an educational program, even more than do the pupils in a public school. Instead of thinking that any teacher is good enough for a correctional institution, we should look far and wide for the right persons to perform this exceedingly difficult, technical task. The teacher with the right attitude toward the girls and the ability to interest them in their work

is more important even than the exact methods of instruction or the course of study to be followed.

Present Situation

Academic Department. Some of the academic departments in these public institutions are definitely below the standards of public graded schools in outside communities. In a few, development of the educational program has progressed beyond the point reached by the average public school of today. In the majority, however, we feel that they are about on the same plane. Neither as a group, nor in any considerable number of individual instances have these training schools availed themselves of their unusual opportunity to use their institutions as laboratories where new methods might be evolved and tried.

Before citing statistics showing the exact situation for the group as a whole, it seems worth while to give particulars of the work found in some schools (as we have already done in regard to Sleighton Farm) including those where it was largely satisfactory and others where much improvement, if not complete reorganization, of the academic work is needed.

In one of the larger southern institutions the academic school appeared to be operated largely to meet the compulsory school law rather than for any value given to the educational work itself. A factory with power machinery occupied an important place in the régime of this institution, and the superintendent told us that the girls under school age who worked in the factory left it to attend school, which was ungraded, "whenever their class was called." The teacher called one class at a time for, perhaps, one and one-half hours daily. We were told that "girls here have not the mentality to do much school work." There was no music teacher and no art instruction. There were almost no pictures in the institution.

In one far western state school the one teacher employed said that the academic department was "largely a joke." This teacher was attempting to hear 32 classes daily. Children in this institution, too, were taken out of the academic department to work. The textbooks were largely those which were used years ago in public schools, but have since been replaced there. In one eastern school

for white girls the whole school population was divided into Classes A (highest), B, and C (lowest). We found that much emphasis was being given to the teaching of fractions, the rules of grammar, and so forth; and the methods of instruction were largely those used in small town public schools years ago. The teacher, an elderly woman, was not able to arouse or hold the interest of the girls. The present superintendent, herself a woman of middle age, formerly attended a school taught by this teacher. In one of the largest training schools in the Middle West the academic department was in our estimation far from satisfactory. Observation of methods used in the classroom convinced us that the educational work should be completely reorganized. Children were required to repeat to the teacher, word by word, what she said, and, as far as we could see, were not encouraged to think for themselves or to develop initiative.

In the Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster, Massachusetts, the academic department is one of its strongest divisions. Much effort is made to adapt its work to the needs of the girls. The courses of study in use in some of the larger cities of Massachusetts have been carefully studied, and after numerous changes and certain omissions to avoid what are considered non-essentials, they are used as a basis for the school work. Formal grammar is taught in the upper grades only. Academic instruction in the school building begins at the fourth grade and continues through the first year of high school. The upper grades constitute what is practically a junior high school. Departmental work is carried on in these grades only. A system of "half-grades" is employed. Since the girls are in care so short a time, it is felt that yearly promotions do not mean a great deal.

At the time of our visit there was a well-conducted class in civics which aroused considerable interest. Pupils in this class were taken to town meetings, to neighboring post offices, and so forth. No history was being taught, as such, but the girls were receiving some historical information in the form of biographies. Every grade had a drawing period. Considerable emphasis was accorded to music, and instruction in public school music was given during the regular school period.

Ungraded classes with special teachers were conducted in the

"backward cottage" and in the "receiving cottage." Those in the receiving cottage were considered of special importance, as the teacher there attempted to study the girls and to grade them properly before they went to the school building. The principal of the academic school believed that "The things which the girls see and handle are far more important than what they read." She considered that most of the girls are not very alert mentally, or observant, hence their attention must be called repeatedly to the same thing. Study periods must be supervised if they are to be worth while. The curriculum in use varies from year to year to meet the needs of a changing group. On certain Friday afternoons assemblies for the entire school are held when topics of special interest are discussed. Teachers may take their classes to the assembly room of the schoolhouse and there present their work through the aid of pictures thrown on the screen. Much use is made of bulletin boards in this institution. Girls are taken on nature walks, during which they gather specimens for drawing lessons and for subject matter for composition. For each girl there is a regular report card, to be signed by her cottage matron, and an effort is made to interest the matrons in the academic work.

In the New York State Training School for Girls at Hudson instruction is given throughout the eight grades and the first year of high school. The first four grades constitute one class. Departmental work begins in the fifth and continues through the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. Ungraded classes are conducted for mentally low-grade girls. The principal examines each new girl to see to which grade she should be assigned. She felt that the methods used in the public schools need adaptation, but not the curriculum; that the subject matter can be largely the same as that in a good public school, but that much repetition is required and, above all else, the work must be made interesting. She also felt that even better prepared and more able teachers were needed here than in public schools. She believed in and used the project method of instruction to some extent. Reports from all the academic and industrial teachers came regularly to the school principal. Some group instruction in drawing was given in the academic school, also teaching of poster work and designing, and group instruction in singing by a resident teacher. This institution has

unusually good pictures, especially in the school building where there is also an excellent library.

In one of the larger southern institutions, one supported by a county instead of by a state, the girls were exceedingly enthusiastic about their school work and many were ambitious to continue their studies after leaving the training school. The whole institution seemed to breathe the atmosphere of education. This was, no doubt, partly traceable to the great interest in this field on the part of the superintendent, a normal school graduate and a former teacher. One factor may also be that a higher grade of girl is sent to this institution than to some state training schools in the North, because of the lack of adequate sifting out processes or probation. Four of the five teachers had received normal school training. While we felt that the academic department was far in advance of the haphazard methods found in some institutions, there was room for criticism on the basis of its being too rigid. This school is affiliated with the public school system of the nearest city, and the aim is to make the school department here "just like a public school." There was no idea of adaptation to meet the individual needs of these girls. To the writer it does not seem wise, or even kind, to push all alike to reach the same standard. Some who worked very hard but who failed to "pass" the county seventh-grade examinations, simply because they did not have the needed mental capacity, were said to have been much depressed. Instruction is given at the institution through the tenth grade; then if a girl continues, it is necessary for her to go to the public high school. At the time of our study, four girls who had completed the city high school were attending college. The Masonic Lodge of a nearby community was paying all the expenses of one girl.

The general situation in regard to the provisions for academic education in the 57 training schools may be seen from the following statistical statement:

Provision for Academic Department	Number of Schools
Institutions with a graded academic school	44
Institutions with ungraded academic school	10
Institutions with part of academic school ungraded	1
Institutions with no academic school	2
Total schools	57

It is observed from these figures that 44 of the 57 institutions have a graded academic school. Those that have ungraded classes for feeble-minded or retarded children are not included in the group entitled "Institutions with part of academic school ungraded." This classification, for our present purposes, means that the pupils properly belonging to a number of grades are taught together in one group. The two institutions which have no academic department include one state institution, caring exclusively for unmarried mothers and babies, and one small training school for colored girls in the South.

In 23 of the 57 training schools some high school work is given in the institution, generally confined to what would constitute the work of the first and second years of high school. In some instances the work is practically that of the first two years of commercial high school. In some additional institutions part only of the work of the first year high school is given to provide an advanced course for those who have completed the eighth grade. A girl to complete her high school course must usually attend an outside school whether she goes daily from the institution or lives in the community. In only eight of the 57 training schools do any girls living in the institution attend outside public schools, and in most of these instances the number so doing is small in proportion to the entire institutional population. Usually the girls who go outside to school are enrolled in high school classes (not the grades).

Two of the 57 schools have no academic department. In 38 of those that have, the department follows a course of study used in an outside public school system. In the majority of the 17 institutions which do not follow any such course the work would probably not be up to the standard of an average public school; in the minority of the 17 schools the need of individualized, specialized instruction for these particular girls has governed any change adopted. In a number of the latter the educational system is probably more progressive and more in line with the newest ideas in the educational field than that found in the average public school.

Included in the group which largely follows a public school course of study are the State School for Girls, Hallowell, Maine; Brooklyn Training School and Home for Young Girls, New York;

Montrose School for Girls, Woodensburg, Maryland; West Virginia Industrial Home for Girls, Industrial, West Virginia; Tennessee Vocational School for Girls at Tullahoma; Florida Industrial Home for Colored Girls at Ocala; The State Training School for Girls, Geneva, Illinois; State Industrial Home for Girls, Adrian, Michigan; Indiana Girls' School at Clermont; Colorado State Industrial School for Girls at Mount Morrison; El Retiro, San Fernando, California.

In giving their personal views regarding academic education, many superintendents said that their ideal was to have within the institution an academic department which should as nearly as possible resemble a "good public school." About an equal number felt that the course of study and the methods should be adapted to the problems presented by these girls. These latter emphasized the need of individual work and of elasticity of program. This second position is taken by the superintendents of the following schools: Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut; Girls' Department of the Glen Mills Schools (Sleighton Farm), Darlington, Pennsylvania; Industrial School for Girls, Lancaster, Massachusetts; State Home and Industrial School for Girls and Women (Samarcand Manor), Samarcand, North Carolina; Girls' Training School, Gainesville, Texas; Home School for Girls, Sauk Center, Minnesota; Opportunity Farm for Girls, Cincinnati, Ohio; Vocational School for Girls, Helena, Montana; State School for Girls, Grand Mound, Washington.

In order to have some understanding of the special problems involved in the academic education of girls in these training schools, we secured from every institution able to supply us with these data, comprising a total of 40, the statistics given on page 288, showing retardation of the pupils. These figures should not be construed as indicating mental status. For example, some girls who had normal intelligence but who had been out of school for years, showed considerable retardation. This information, however, does indicate that many of these training schools have a large problem of retardation that must be met by special classes and individualized instruction.

It is of great interest that of the 4,318 pupils enrolled in the graded academic schools in these 40 institutions, able to supply

us with these data in a comparable form, only 6 per cent were normal for their grades. It is also of interest to note that more than half of this entire group of children were retarded more than three years, and almost one-fourth, six years or more. In a few schools we felt that the pupils were graded too high for their grades in the academic department, hence the actual retardation would be even somewhat greater than is shown by this statement. The 4,318 pupils enrolled in graded academic departments in these 40 institutions constitute only 79 per cent of the entire group of girls in care; the other 21 per cent, for various reasons, were not enrolled in graded academic classes.

Degree of Retardation	Number of Pupils
None	257
One year	396
Two years	622
Three years	732
Four years	734
Five years	582
Six years	447
More than six years	548
Total pupils	4,318

The reading of good books is emphasized in some training schools through the literary courses provided for pupils in the advanced grades and high school. Many institutions have small, carefully selected libraries supplemented by books lent from nearby public libraries, but supervision of the reading of individual pupils is the exception.

Æsthetic Education. The situation in regard to æsthetic education should receive special mention. In most of these institutions we found very little instruction in art. In some of the institutions in certain grades in the academic departments, brief periods were set aside for drawing or painting; a few attempted simple lessons in design. When we come to the question of applied art, such as handicrafts, we enter a field to which there will be reference in Chapter XVI, Prevocational and Vocational Training.

By far the most important type of æsthetic education found

was instruction in music. In numerous instances we felt that performance was emphasized rather than participation, and that the end desired was to present a creditable public entertainment rather than that the girls individually should receive great enjoyment and benefit from the music. A regular course of public school music, emphasizing sight reading, is given in connection with a number of the academic departments. A few institutions have a special course in appreciation of music. The music teacher sometimes visits the different cottages at stipulated times when she plays for the girls, and individual girls play for the group. In this way all become familiar with good music.

Musical instruction in some form is stressed as very important in numerous girls' training schools. Among them are Sleighton Farm, Darlington, Pennsylvania; Industrial School for Girls, Lancaster, Massachusetts; Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls at Peaks Turnout; State Home and Industrial School for Girls and Women, Samarcand, North Carolina; Harris County School for Girls, Bellaire, Texas; the Girls' Industrial School, Delaware, Ohio; Home School for Girls, Sauk Center, Minnesota; Colorado State Industrial School for Girls at Mount Morrison; State School for Girls, Grand Mound, Washington.

The Minnesota school, at the time of our study, had the services of two music teachers who had been trained by the best masters here and abroad. They gave individual lessons in piano to a large number of girls and group instruction in voice. The theory of music was taught and appreciation developed. The North Carolina school places considerable emphasis on music. The full-time resident music teacher who also had worked under the best teachers abroad, gave individual lessons and had charge of all group work: a chorus and a glee club greatly interested the girls. In the National Training School for Girls, the music teacher who had studied at the Detroit Institute of Music directed two choruses and group singing in the cottages, and gave individual piano and voice lessons to 40 different girls. They received two lessons a week of one-half hour each. The colored girls sang spirituals without piano accompaniment.

At Sleighton Farm a resident full-time music teacher, a graduate of Oberlin Conservatory, trained the girls in group singing and

tried to develop their appreciation of good music. A glee club had been started shortly before our visit. The colored girls in this institution sang the old spirituals with fine feeling. In the Massachusetts school a full-time resident music teacher was assisted by one of the academic teachers. Both had had good musical training. The girls came from their academic school classes (on school time) to the chapel for one period a week, where they were led in group singing. They were given instruction in rhythm, time, and so forth, but not in note reading. The entire institution engaged in community singing in the chapel twice a week. Piano lessons were given to promising pupils. There were two choirs (Protestant and Catholic) and three quartets.

The resident music teacher of the Illinois State Training School at Geneva, a graduate of the Music Department of Rockford College, directed group singing, trained two choirs, taught public school music, and gave some piano and voice lessons to exceptional girls. In the Indiana school, the girls came to the chapel (on school time) twice a week for a half-hour of singing. The music director, a graduate of Mount Holyoke College, where she studied music, spent a half-hour weekly in each academic classroom, giving instruction in public school music; she also led the girls in singing in the cottages.

The nature of the provisions for musical instruction may be summarized as follows:

Musical Instruction Provided	Number of Schools
Resident teacher	15
Regular visiting teacher	8[a]
Instruction by some other officer	31
Schools without musical instruction	3
Total schools	57

[a] Two of the training schools included in this number have additional musical instruction by some other officer on the staff.

It is noted from this statement that over one-fourth of the schools have a resident music teacher. A number of these teachers give their entire time to music. The majority carry some other duties, although musical instruction constitutes their chief task. In more than half of the total group of girls' training schools, dependence

is placed on other workers for whatever musical instruction is attempted. In many schools an academic teacher, or less frequently a cottage mother, who has had musical training, directs group singing.

The types of musical instruction in these 57 girls' schools may be learned from the following statement:

Type of Musical Instruction	Number of Schools
Individual lessons	20
Group singing under direction	54
Student bands or orchestras	5

It is noted that a very large majority (54 out of 57) of the schools have supervised group singing, including many that have choirs, choruses, and glee clubs; while only one-third give any individual lessons in piano or voice. Bands or orchestras are found less frequently. In some instances several types of instruction are given in one institution.

We were interested in learning the personal views of the superintendents regarding the values which they place on music in an institution for delinquents. Their replies may be grouped as follows:

Opinion of Executive on Value of Music	Number of Schools
Favored for educational and æsthetic values	54
Favored for disciplinary powers (including therapeutic values)	46
Favored as vocational training	12

It is seen that almost the entire group (54 out of 57) considers that musical instruction has educational and æsthetic value. Forty-six favor it also because of its healing powers and disciplinary values. In only a few of these 46 institutions, however, did we find a type of musical instruction or activity which in our opinion can be considered as of great disciplinary or therapeutic value. The views of the superintendents indicate an ideal toward which they wish to work. Music as a part of vocational training properly belongs to the following chapter.

Included among the superintendents who desire musical training

in their institutions because of its disciplinary and therapeutic values are the heads of the following institutions: Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut; Sleighton Farm, Darlington, Pennsylvania; National Training School for Girls, Washington, D. C.; Virginia Home and Industrial School for Girls at Bon Air; Arkansas Training School for Girls at Alexander; Girls' Training School, Gainesville, Texas; State Industrial Home for Girls, Adrian, Michigan; Chicago Home for Girls, Illinois; Colorado State Industrial School for Girls at Mount Morrison; State School for Girls, Grand Mound, Washington.

Suggestions Regarding Education

As a conclusion to the discussion, we wish to present for consideration a few recommendations regarding the educational system in these training schools, not as iron-clad "standards," but as goals to be worked toward and conditions which might reasonably be expected in these public correctional institutions.

With reference to education in general, we present the following points:

1. Education in these training schools should be made dynamic and objective, a vital part of the program of rehabilitation of the girl with conduct problems. It should be planned to meet the needs of the individual, both while she is in the institution and later when she returns to the community.

2. Each school should have a comprehensive plan which should include the various phases of education. With proper correlation, each part of the educational program will become more vital and worth while.

3. These institutions have large opportunity for service as laboratories of research in the educational field. They should be utilized for this purpose as far as is practicable.

4. If any worth-while educational program is to be successfully carried on, there must be well-trained teachers. In many cases this will necessitate higher salaries.

In regard to academic education we offer the following suggestions:

1. Modern methods of instruction should be utilized. Those

in charge of the educational system in a girls' training school should keep abreast of the times and know what experiments are being carried on elsewhere. All instruction must be individualized as far as possible. This requires a sufficient number of teachers, which must be somewhat larger than in the public schools because of the special problems involved.

2. The course of study in a girls' training school should be elastic and permit of changes from time to time. It should be planned to meet the needs of the particular group in care. Specialized instruction should be provided for the mentally deficient and for girls who are backward in their classes. The type of life to which the majority of these girls will return after leaving the institution should be kept constantly in mind.

3. There should be an opportunity in the institution for pupils with good mental endowment to progress, so that when they leave they may enter proper grades in outside schools. While the majority do not continue their formal education after leaving, the pupils in an institution should have such opportunities for mental development as will not leave them handicapped if later they can continue in a public school.

An effort should be made by these schools to provide that type of æsthetic education, whether formal or informal, which will help to develop an appreciation of the beautiful. It is well if some definite art instruction—drawing, painting, designing, and so forth—can be furnished for the majority; and for the gifted few, special opportunities. To foster a love of good literature there should be some classwork or reading groups for the older girls who are able to profit from such work, and a good library.

In regard to music, the most commonly practiced of the arts, our suggestions may be summarized as follows:

1. In all girls' training schools of any appreciable size there should be a proficient resident music teacher. Whether she gives all or part of her time to musical instruction or direction will depend, of course, upon the size of the institution. A staff of more than 8 or 10 should contain a member who has specialized in music, but who may perhaps carry additional duties of teacher or recreation director. A staff of 20 members or more should have a resident music director with no other duties.

2. In the musical program of a training school chief emphasis should be placed on the participation of all and the benefits derived from the music. The question of performance should be a secondary consideration.

3. The therapeutic and disciplinary values of music should be considered. It has been demonstrated that music can be a factor in helping an emotionally disturbed person to find herself.

If a comprehensive educational plan on the lines suggested above could be evolved for, and successfully administered in, every training school for girls, it would certainly constitute a very important factor in returning to the community well-adjusted young people, prepared to cope successfully with present-day problems.

CHAPTER XVI

PREVOCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

MUCH of the discussion in the preceding chapter applies not only to academic and æsthetic education, but also to prevocational and vocational training. For example, modern methods applied with elasticity are needed quite as much in vocational as in academic classes. Prevocational training and industrial activities should be related to the other types of education provided in order that the whole may present a program planned to meet all the child's needs.

Few today question the importance of prevocational and vocational training, at least for many occupations.[1] This is an age of trained workers. In almost all fields where competition is keen the trained worker receives higher compensation, steadier employment, and a choice of the more pleasant positions. There are, however, considerable differences of opinion as to the exact ratio which should be maintained between so-called cultural education and specific training for a vocation. Some educators emphasize cultural education, and others specific preparation for a vocation.

The intensity and extent of vocational training as provided in our public schools are also subjects of vigorous discussion. Some feel that the public school system should include specialized trade classes and trade schools which give detailed instruction in trade processes including the use of the kind of power machines which pupils may later operate in factories. Others feel that the public schools should provide only sufficient prevocational training (not trade training) to start the children along the paths which they may wish to follow later. With such prevocational training, pupils should master the principles underlying a chosen vocation, but not necessarily acquire the skill essential for holding a good position

[1] It has been claimed that in some industries where automatic machinery plays a large part, the average worker needs only a few weeks to learn thoroughly all phases of his particular task and to acquire a fair degree of skill.

in the trade chosen. A third group is of the opinion that the public schools need not support either trade departments or prevocational classes; that their duty is accomplished when they have provided opportunities for students to visit shops and factories, to hear lectures by vocational experts, to see motion pictures showing trade processes, and so forth. It is believed that such opportunities would create the interest and incentive requisite to successful vocational preparation.

Vocational Counseling

Within recent years, there has been noteworthy development in a number of our larger cities of school counseling, which we cannot discuss here, but reference to which should not be omitted. This movement is very closely allied with the question of vocational guidance. Many social workers and educators now feel that such guidance to young pupils leaving school to take their first positions is a matter of prime importance. These activities, in the case of a training school for delinquents, would be largely a responsibility of the parole agents who should be familiar with the work of such organizations as the Vocational Bureau of Cincinnati; the White-Williams Foundation of Philadelphia, and the Vocational Service for Juniors in New York City. Here we find school counseling and vocational guidance at their best.

Place of Vocational Instruction

The exact place which prevocational and vocational training should occupy in these institutions is difficult to determine. There is no phase of the work regarding which there are more differences of opinion among the superintendents and others closely related to the work of these institutions. The writer believes that neither prevocational nor vocational training should be considered the chief function or even a major function of such schools.

The fundamental purpose of these institutions should be to provide scientific study and treatment and readjustment of the individual girl having conduct difficulties. If this is admitted to be their chief function, there must be a varied program giving opportunity for all of the activities which are essential in this task. There should be time for academic instruction, musical training,

Building Better Than They Know

Outdoor Work

outdoor recreation, and various student activities. For the majority of the girls the fulness of such a program precluded the devotion of sufficient time to the study of trade processes to make such training truly vocational.

Many of the girls come to the training school too young to undertake the training necessary for efficient trade work; indeed, some are too young even to enter into any elaborate course of prevocational training, for some of these schools receive some little girls as young as six or eight years of age. Most of the girls are retarded from one to three or four years in their academic training and it is indispensable to make up the deficiency if possible, even at the sacrifice of vocational training. Many of the girls do not remain in the school long enough to master any trade.

As we have already stated, we believe that the girls should return to normal life outside of the institution as soon as they have acquired such control that they no longer present conduct problems. We find in some institutions a tendency to keep girls beyond that period, either in order to complete the trade course or because they have become useful to the institution by the skill already acquired.

We recognize the value to a girl of being able to do some kind of work with efficiency and skill, but the main proposition is to create in her such a character of uprightness, goodwill and conscience that the girl will be dependable and will be able to live as a decent, law-abiding citizen in the community.

Although vocational training ought not to be considered the matter of prime importance, certain industrial activities and some prevocational training have their place, especially for the older girls who show strong interests along certain lines, with some definite aptitudes. Such girls can make at least a beginning along the line which they may wish to follow after leaving the school. This is especially important for girls who are without suitable homes and who must become wage-earners as soon as they leave the institution. If the institution is located near a city, it might be possible to send a number of carefully chosen girls to outside schools or shops to learn a given vocation. The "town house" idea which is being successfully used for a limited number of high-grade imbeciles and moron girls from institutions for the feeble-minded

can probably be successfully used for some of the more trustworthy girls who are not yet ready for parole. Mrs. Fannie F. Morse made an interesting trial of this method in connection with the Minnesota Home School at Sauk Center. Such girls, under the supervision of a cottage mother, could live in a town unit and take vocational training from outside sources, and the girls could acquire a degree of responsibility and self-dependence while still under the close guardianship of the institution.

The varied activities within the institution can be made to give valuable training, without necessarily taking the form of trade-training. There are numerous kinds of work necessary to the maintenance of the institution, and some special forms of work such as poultry raising and floriculture which create interest, stimulate the imagination, and provide outlets for surplus energy. Such activities have exceedingly valuable therapeutic uses which can be realized without necessarily being so intense that it can rightly be called "vocational."

In utilizing these activities it is right that certain girls should be given special advantages in the line of prevocational training. Decisions regarding the specific kinds of activity should be based on the special interests and aptitudes of the girls and on the opportunities offered by their environment after leaving the school. It should be borne in mind that a very large proportion will become homemakers within a relatively short period. The need of a domestic science course, training in the care of children, and home nursing are, therefore, not even debatable.

Present Situation

Extent of Training. The extent of training now being provided in these schools may be indicated as follows:

Extent of Training	Number of Schools
Some vocational training provided	18
Some prevocational training provided	28
Girls work, but receive no special training	11
Total schools	57

From the foregoing statement it is seen that approximately one-third (18 of 57) of the institutions offer some vocational or

trade training. In most, however, training which can properly be called vocational is offered in a few fields only and sometimes in but one line. Four training schools send some girls while still living in the institution to outside schools to receive vocational training. These include public schools, commercial schools, and a special school conducted by a Young Women's Christian Association. We found none where girls living in the institution were sent daily to a shop or factory for trade training. Approximately one-half of the entire group of training schools (28 of 57) offer prevocational training in some line. A third group, which constitutes almost one-fifth of the entire number (11 of 57), offers no training which in our opinion may properly be classed either as prevocational or vocational. In these schools the girls do most of the work of the institution but are given no instruction or training which entitles that work to be called even prevocational. In some of the latter instances, however, the work is therapeutic and the girls receive much benefit from it. Numerous superintendents feel that a training school should not proceed beyond this point.

Types of Activities. For the purposes of the following statistical statement, we have listed as "industrial" the work which the

Type of Work and Training	Number of Schools	Number of Superintendents Favoring
General housework	57	54[a]
Sewing	56	54
Cooking	56	54
Laundry work	52	48
Gardening	46	48
Poultry raising	32	33
Commercial course	19	34
Dairying	18	24
Farming	12	16
Training for domestic service emphasized	11	9
Dressmaking	8	16
Training in care of young children	8	22
Millinery	6	15
Floriculture	4	5
Factory processes	2	7
Beauty culture	1	13

[a] See note on page 77.

girls do in the institution, but which in our judgment does not constitute either prevocational or vocational training. This summary shows the types of work and training found (industrial, prevocational, vocational) in the 57 schools studied; also the personal views of the superintendents, regardless of present practices in their institutions.

The 16 classifications given constitute the chief types of training or occupations included in the programs of the 57 institutions, but no one school offers training or work in all the fields here listed. The extent and quality of the instruction provided under the various headings differ greatly between schools. The views of the superintendents show whether or not they favor a given activity, but not whether they think it should be purely industrial, prevocational, or vocational. For example, some of the sixteen who favor farming for girls feel it should be provided solely because of its therapeutic value; others wish it to be vocational for some.

Study of the classifications shows, as was to be expected, that instruction in the tasks concerned with home-making is common to all the schools. These include general housework, sewing, cooking, laundry work, gardening, and poultry raising. The next most frequent type of training found is concerned with outdoor work, which in the past has often been considered a field only for boys and men. Not all schools give courses in additional subjects also needed in home-making, such as household budgets, home nursing, and the care and training of young children. Only 11 of the 57 offer specific training for domestic service positions. In many institutions the majority of girls upon leaving take a domestic service position, not because they have been specially trained for this work, but because of no other plan.

In a few institutions girls are definitely taught to be cooks, but in most, instruction in cooking is but part of the home-making program. The same is true of laundry work. Only a few schools give what might be called prevocational or vocational training in the handling of power laundry machinery. In a very few instances, instruction in fine hand laundering amounts to prevocational training.

We were unprepared to find that so few schools included dressmaking. While all but one gave some instruction in, or at least

employment in sewing, only eight provided training in what we consider dressmaking. Perhaps the fact that millinery is considered a seasonal occupation—an unwise one for these girls, who would be well paid for short periods and then without work for weeks—partly explains why it had not been further developed. Some instruction (not trade training) in this field no doubt has therapeutic value and would be of practical value later to the girls in their own homes.

One of the chief difficulties with prevocational training in gardening, dairying, poultry raising, and farming is that there are many problems involved in the placement of girls where they can work in these lines. Most superintendents feel that these girls should be employed only by women farmers and where there are no men laborers. Of course, this greatly restricts the opportunities for placement. Floriculture, which is offered to any degree in but four schools, does not seem to suffer from quite the same handicap. There are some women florists, and even when men are the owners, girls in large establishments work under women supervisors.

Only eight schools give prenursing training within the institution. Most superintendents feel that only the exceptional girl should have nursing training beyond home nursing for her own family. It is felt that few have the mental background or the stability for this kind of work. Special moral dangers are cited by some superintendents.

We recognize the moral hazard of certain kinds of work such as nursing and manicuring, but it may often be obviated by wise placement and proper supervision by the parole department of the institution. A girl from a training school may become an expert in so-called beauty culture and be safely permitted to engage in this work if she is in the proper kind of shop. This latter should not be connected with a barber shop, but in a high-grade establishment serving women only. Training in beauty culture was found in only one training school, but it is favored by 13 of the 57 superintendents. Experiments of this kind, however, can be justified only by the most careful and discriminating study of the individual.

We believe that practically all the needs of girls in these schools will be met by the different types of training listed, even omitting

that called "factory processes." In only two schools did we find definite training in factory processes. Both are located in the same state. One is an institution for white girls and the other one for colored.

Commercial courses are constantly growing in popularity. In most cases these must be restricted to the girls with higher mental ability. Their placement as stenographers, typists, and file clerks, because of the independence of their life outside the office, presents a problem different from that of the girl in domestic service.

The general situation in regard to prevocational and vocational training can probably best be seen from the presentation of a few examples of activities found in various schools. In the New York State Training School for Girls at Hudson, at the time of our study, girls were being taught general housework and home-making, chambermaid's work, cooking (both in cottage kitchens and in a special domestic science class), canning, sewing (in four classes taught by practical women), dressmaking and tailoring in a special class, millinery, hand and power laundry work, fancy work (crocheting, embroidery, and so forth), beadwork, basketry, weaving of linen cloth and rugs, chair caning, the making of rope hammocks and paper flowers, and the repairing of dolls. The superintendent at the time of our visit had definite plans also for the opening of a class in commercial subjects, in interior decorating, and even in "forestry," in which the aim would be to teach diseases of trees and their proper treatment. Training provided in this institution is both prevocational and vocational, some of it chiefly valuable from a therapeutic point of view. The types found here were much more varied than in the majority of schools included in our study. It is, of course, easier for the larger institutions, such as this one, to provide variety.

At Sleighton Farm training that is prevocational or merely industrial, is given in the following branches: general housework, plain sewing, dressmaking, fine needlework, weaving, training to be a nurse's assistant, typewriting, horticulture, poultry raising, care of pigs and sheep, and truck gardening. The superintendent believes that the following types of work require little skill and offer little or no vocational content: heavy laundry (including blankets, farm bloomers, and so forth), washing windows, heavy

scrubbing (especially of woodwork and walls), cleaning basements and attics, shoveling coal, and painting walls. Constantly repeated, these become drudgery. She would like to have some of this necessary labor centralized in order to reduce the labor. Superintendents who believe that this heavy work sometimes has therapeutic value would not agree wholly with such a plan. One or two stated that any work which does not contribute either to the education of a girl or to the rebuilding of her character should, ideally, be carried on by employes. They argue that in the long run it would be cheaper to pay for this work than to permit girls, who are there at great expense, to do this work; that the time given to such tasks should be used for valuable types of training and activities. Some superintendents thought that some of the farm work, the care of furnaces, and so forth, was too heavy for most of their girls; however, in the schools permitting girls to do these tasks, care is generally taken that only the strongest are so employed. A very few superintendents raised the question whether it was "fitting" for a "lady" to do such work!

In the Girls' Training School at Gainesville, Texas, Dr. Smith, the superintendent at the time of our visit, did not consider that the girls had real trade training, though we think that the training was better in some fields, as in home nursing, cooking, and typewriting, than that given in the majority of these girls' schools. The student nurses received especially valuable training in this institution. They were selected with great care and were trained by a resident woman physician. Some upon leaving have taken up nursing training in an outside hospital. Dr. Smith strongly favors emphasis on instruction in all details of homecraft and mothercraft, and in a form "so attractive that the girls will never again be satisfied with the standards of living to which they were accustomed previous to their admission to the school." She wants them taught concretely that comfort and beauty may be obtained without great expenditure.

In the Home School for Girls at Sauk Center, Minnesota, which, as has been noted, operates a huge farm of several hundred acres, at the time of our visit many pupils were engaged in outdoor activities. A number were on the institution's payroll. Girls were working as farm assistants, gardeners, dairymaids, plumbers,

painters, carpenters, and even electricians. In the fifteen months preceding our visit the girls themselves had painted 21 buildings (not counting farm buildings) on the outside and 16 on the inside. Under supervision they had built three new frame cottages and remodeled two other buildings. They had even installed the plumbing and heating systems under supervision. Skilled mechanics from a nearby community pronounced this work "excellent," and superior to that generally done under contract. The girls thus occupied were in every case over sixteen years of age and were paid in real money. Mrs. Morse, superintendent at that time, stated that she herself was surprised at the results. She felt that the work which had first been undertaken during the World War had been of creative interest to the girls, had served to build character, had encouraged team play, and had even been of value vocationally.

In the Harris County School for Girls at Bellaire, Texas, real vocational training is given in a few lines, as sewing and business subjects. The interesting phase of the vocational instruction in this school is that many girls seem to have very definite ideas as to just what they wish to do upon leaving the institution. Evidently a successful attempt has been made to provide incentives and to foster ambition. Among the high school girls with whom we talked one wished to be a recreation director, one a concert singer (she had a beautiful voice and later received individual lessons) and one a teacher of children. While it may be wise to steer some of these girls away from their present goals, this vivid interest and ambition should certainly be encouraged.

In the State Industrial Home for Girls in Chillicothe, Missouri, there are both prevocational and vocational training. The superintendent considers that it is truly vocational in the following subjects: commercial studies, beauty culture, art needlework, and sewing. Training, prevocational or industrial in character, is offered in general housework, home-making, laundry work, cooking, canning, outdoor work, and rug weaving. The commercial courses include business spelling, English, arithmetic, penmanship, bookkeeping, typewriting, and shorthand. Twenty-two girls, all of whom had finished the eighth grade, were enrolled in the commercial department at the time of our visit. The group was divided into

two classes, each of which met four hours a day on five days a week. It was in this school that we found the one instance of instruction in beauty culture. The superintendent is strongly in favor of training some of these girls to work in high-grade beauty parlors. No moral problem had so far arisen with any who had been placed in such positions. The vocational work in this institution has been developed further than in the majority of the schools.

In the Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls, Mrs. Janie Porter Barrett, the superintendent, feels that the girls should have experience in housework in a small home unit, with no more conveniences than they will probably have in their own homes in the future. After the girls in this institution have learned how to clean a room, to wash, iron, cook, serve a meal, and so forth, and have become members of the "honor group," they are sent four at a time in the morning and two in the afternoon for special instruction at the farm cottage, a small frame building in which the farmer and his wife live. It was standing on the farm at the time this institution was established, and contains no modern conveniences, no electric lights, no steam heat, not even running water. The farmer's wife, who is a refined, intelligent, capable woman, supervises the girls in doing the work of this cottage. The same standards and results are required as in the larger, well-equipped cottages for girls. For example, a girl learns to wash clothes properly in the laundry of the institution, where she has modern conveniences, and must then produce equally good results in the laundry of this cottage where she has to carry in water to be heated on a stove and then wash the clothes by hand. This experiment is interesting, not only because it makes the training very practical, suiting it to the probable future of these girls, but because it tends to dignify the labor of the home.

There should be special discussion of the two state institutions which operate factories, and in which the superintendents consider that the training in factory processes is truly vocational. In one of these (the school for white girls), a shirt factory, situated on the grounds, is operated by girls who are supposed to be over sixteen years of age. There is no criticism of the room; it contains sufficient space, and lighting and ventilation are satisfactory. The machinery is protected and we were told that there had never been

any serious accident. A few girls work eight hours a day, but the majority work only half a day. Shirts are made for a contractor who furnishes the machines. The superintendent stated that the only agreement with him was to do the work at a certain price; there was no contract as to the amount of work to be turned out. The girls themselves receive very little financial compensation, some earning $2.00 or $3.00 a month, which is kept in the office for them but which they are permitted to spend under supervision while they are still in the school. A man supervisor is in charge of the machinery and of the work done by the girls. A woman officer is always present as a chaperon. We were told that each girl was taught every process, but that she was given special training in a particular one. A careful case study of girls on parole who had worked in the factory while living in the institution would be necessary before it could be known definitely whether this training had been of any advantage to them. In every institution that operates a factory there is the possibility and even probability that the work may interfere with the other types of training and activities; also the danger that the work may be commercialized and the state grow to feel that the institution should become partly or largely self-supporting. Undesirable mental attitudes may also be created in the girls.

In the other institution (the school for colored girls) which operates a factory, the superintendent considers that the process involved in making overalls is actually vocational. We feel, however, that the main idea behind the work is financial profit, though there is the additional consideration that the training the girls receive may be of use to them later. This factory runs from 8:30 a. m. until 4 p. m. with three-quarters of an hour for the luncheon period. The superintendent was emphatic in her statement that "most of these girls are beyond school age." She definitely admitted, however, that some were not, which constitutes a violation of the state child labor law. In this state it is unlawful for a child under sixteen to work on a power machine, even if she goes to school part of the day. The girls receive no financial compensation, the proceeds going to the treasury of the institution. The company for which the work is done furnishes the materials and pays by the piece. There is no contract in regard to the amount to be turned

out. The institution owns its own machinery and employs its own "forelady," a woman who formerly had held a similar position in an outside factory. Her point of view is entirely that of "getting the work done," rather than of teaching the girls. The power machines are not of the latest kind used in modern factories, and a serious condition existed in their being unprotected. Fast revolving machines were exposed under the work benches near the girls' skirts. Before this institution can ever hope to be a modern, progressive training school, the factory it operates must either be abolished or receive much less emphasis.

The illustrations presented in the foregoing pages show the extremes of good industrial, prevocational, and vocational training, as contrasted with factory conditions in two institutions where we felt that the situation was most unsatisfactory. The large majority of the schools fall between these two extremes. Many give a variety of training which has therapeutic value and prepares the girl to care for her own home, if not to follow some vocation outside of the home.

Specialization or Variety. During our study of the different schools we sought to learn what was the aim of each institution in regard to providing a variety of training or specialization for each girl. We found that 30 of the 57 wish to have both variety and specialization. This generally means that the superintendent tries to carry out a plan whereby each girl is trained in the care of a home—including laundry work, cleaning, sewing, and cooking, and, in addition, to train her intensively in one or two lines in which she has shown special interest or ability. Thus specialization may mean that a girl receives real prevocational or vocational training in a certain line, or that she merely spends more time on this particular type of work without receiving the type or quality of training that might be designed either as prevocational or as vocational. If there is little definite instruction and no vocational program outlined, the repetition over and over of a certain process does not necessarily constitute prevocational training. Complete specialization was not the aim of any school; that is, to discover soon after admission a girl's aptitude and to train her in that line exclusively. No superintendent operated a trade school in that sense.

Twenty-four of the schools aim at variety, with no effort toward specialization. This generally means that an attempt is made to

keep a girl from spending too long a period on one kind of work when it is felt that she would profit most from an all-round training; therapeutic factors also enter in. It has been one of the faults of some institutions in the past that a girl was sometimes left for many months at one task in which she had become proficient and thereby useful to the institution. The best girls' training schools today have tried to remedy this by providing a card system which records the date when a pupil finishes each type of training and passes on to the next. Often a girl spends three months in the cottage kitchen learning to cook, another three months in the sewing room learning to sew, and definite periods in other types of industrial or vocational training. Less than half a day five or six days a week is given to such work. The remainder of the time the girl attends academic school, participates in student activities, in recreation, and so forth. We found only three schools that seemed to have no definite goal of either variety or specialization or a combination. In these three the sole idea of those in charge seemed to be "to get the work done"; or the period during which the girls were in care seemed to the superintendents too short to warrant a comprehensive plan.

Commercial Profit. In eight schools only did we feel that any effort was made to render the girls' work commercially productive to the institution. These include the two that conducted factories already described. In 11 some money was obtained through the sale of articles made by the girls (generally fancy work), or from their outside work, such as picking fruit for a neighboring farmer. In three of these schools, however, we did not feel that this work was conducted on a scale or from a point of view which would warrant its classification as an effort to make the girls' work a paying proposition. In seven of the 11 referred to above the girls receive some compensation for their work.

Girls Compensated. In several schools certain girls had been placed on the payroll, each of them receiving from $10 to $35 a month. In one instance, during the temporary absence of a housekeeper, a girl was found in charge of a cottage kitchen, for which she was being paid a regular salary. At El Retiro, San Fernando, California, the girl head of a department such as dairy, laundry, garden, and so forth, was paid $10 a month. The school

at Sauk Center, Minnesota, at the time of our study had rather a large group of girls, each earning from $10 to $35 a month. The state schools of Colorado and Montana, the Bexar County School and the Harris County School in Texas are among those that had a few pupils on their payrolls. At Sleighton Farm numerous honor positions pay small fees which enable the girls to shop at the store maintained in the institution. This whole question and that of "toy" money will be referred to again in Chapter XIX, Discipline—Constructive and Corrective.

Suggestions and Recommendations

In summing up, we do not feel that trade training, or even prevocational training, should be considered a major function of these public correctional institutions for delinquent girls. For the majority of the girls in these institutions the fulness of the program prevents sufficient time for the study of trade processes to make such training truly vocational. Many of the girls, also, are too young when they come to the training school to have any marked interest in a particular vocation. There is also the factor that many of these girls do not remain a sufficiently long period to master any trade.

In our opinion in these correctional institutions where the major function is the study, treatment, and readjustment of individual girls with conduct problems, and where the development of vocational training should not take first place, there is, however, great need of a varied program permitting time for all types of activities. These interests and occupations, because of their therapeutic and character-building values, have their place in a program of remotivating and re-educating delinquent girls. No girl should be kept on one type of work for a long period for the reason that it is beneficial to the institution; the good of the girl should always govern. Some prevocational training for the older girls means that they will make at least a beginning along the line which they may wish to follow after leaving the institution. For the girls who will probably not return to their own homes and who must immediately become wage-earners after leaving the training school, this is a specially important consideration. If an institution is located near a city, it might be feasible to send a small number, carefully chosen, to outside schools or shops to

learn a given vocation. The "town house" idea might be further developed for girls who have shown themselves more trustworthy than the majority in the institution but who are not yet ready for parole. Much more could be done than at present in the direction of securing co-operation from outside agencies and individuals to make it possible for a girl to continue her vocational training after leaving the institution.

Specifically, in regard to the types of training to be provided, there seems to be no question but that every girl should receive instruction in different aspects of home-making. As far as specialization is concerned, there is need first for careful study of the individual. The discovering of a girl's special aptitudes, her chief interests and potentialities constitute a part of the program which would benefit from greater emphasis. All the types of training listed in our statistical statement seem to meet the needs of some individual girls and hence, in our opinion, should be encouraged, with the one exception of "factory processes." It is exceedingly doubtful whether an institution should try to operate a factory with modern power machinery for the sole purpose of giving trade training; such attempts are likely to degenerate into schemes for making money for the institution.

Regardless of the types of training provided, we feel emphatically that the aim in these training schools should not be to make the work commercially productive. There are many dangers in such a situation which are hard to avoid. If any girls do work outside of the institutions, they should be compensated. This applies also to the products of the handwork classes which may be sold outside of the institution.

In our opinion there is a large and almost entirely undeveloped field of vocational guidance in schools for delinquent girls. If the type of work which is now being done by the White-Williams Foundation,[1] for example, could be undertaken by the girls' training schools fewer misfits might be returned to society. Efforts should be made to fit a girl not only to a particular home upon leaving a training school, but also to a particular job.

[1] This Foundation is situated at 1421 Race St., Philadelphia, Pa. Its purpose is "the development of a technique for studying the social background and personal characteristics of the individual child in the schools, in order that he may be given guidance adapted to his needs."

CHAPTER XVII

RECREATION

ALTHOUGH questions pertaining to recreation are given separate consideration in this chapter, recreation itself should not be thought of as entirely distinct from other phases of the program in an institution for delinquent girls; its close connection with many aspects of their life is what gives it special significance. The interrelation of recreation with education has long been recognized; in fact, it is generally accepted today as one phase of education, if the latter is thought of in its broadest sense. It is also closely affiliated with the scientific study and treatment of the individual delinquent. Recreational interests and responses may be of assistance in the diagnosis of the behavior problems of a child. It is also possible to use recreational interests and activities in her rehabilitation. Under such a plan the playground becomes a laboratory in carrying out the functions of these schools.

Recreation bears a very definite relationship to discipline, particularly to constructive discipline, as will be pointed out later in this chapter. Finally, it is closely related to questions of parole. We all know that proper provision for the leisure-time activities of girls on parole constitutes one of the most serious tasks of the conscientious parole agent. Some of the best work in these schools for delinquent girls is being done in the field of recreation; the adoption and use of advanced ideas concerning recreation are more rapid than in many other phases of the work. Many of these schools, in fact, have far surpassed their neighboring communities in this respect, which might well observe and copy what they are doing in recreation.

Changing Conceptions

As the objectives of education and the methods of instruction have undergone marked changes, so have there been noteworthy

changes in the ideas in regard to play. Formerly "play" was considered by many simply as what one did to "pass the time away." This idea of play as a way of using time not needed for anything else but of no particular value in itself, is now fortunately almost obsolete.

Another idea of play is still held by many; namely, that its chief value lies in the physical exercise which it provides. Such a statement gives only part of the truth. Play is useful from a health point of view, but it has many additional values of equal or greater importance.

More far-reaching, however, is the idea that play is important because it contributes to the mental and moral development of a person quite as much as to physical health, an idea now held by many educators, psychologists, and social workers, as well as by recreation specialists. These people believe that it is an essential force in the growth of an individual, and that a properly directed recreational program provides a greatly needed avenue for the expression of his personality. There is probably no greater exponent of the view that play is growth than Joseph Lee, who in his book, Play in Education, writes:

> Play seen from the inside, as the child sees it, is the most serious thing in life. Seen from the outside, as a natural phenomenon, its importance corresponds. Nature is as much in earnest in this matter as is the child. Her purpose as declared in the child's play instincts is the most serious purpose she has in his behalf. It includes, indeed, the whole intention with which she brought him forth, namely, to make a man of him.
>
> Play builds the child. It is a part of nature's law of growth. . . . It is for the sake of play that the great phenomenon of infancy exists; play is the positive side of that phenomenon. The reason the higher animals are born so helpless and unformed is in order that they may be finished by this method. The reason man is sent into the world the most helpless of them all . . . is in order that he above all the rest may be the playing animal, fashioned in obedience to the great play instincts. Play is, in sober truth, the very act and throe of growth.
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> The working of this law of growth through play is something with which we are all of us familiar. The law is almost visibly at work during every waking hour in every child. . . .
>
> Growth through play is simply an example of the general law of growth through action. We all know that a muscle grows by exercise. The

psychologists tell us that the same is true of the other tissues, "the function makes the organ," as they say. . . .

Play is thus the essential part of education. It is nature's prescribed course. School is invaluable in forming the child to meet actual social opportunities and conditions. Without the school he will not grow up to fit our [social] institutions. Without play he will not grow up at all.[1]

Since play is essential to physical, mental, and moral development, it is especially important that children who are in a formative period should have ample opportunities for the right type of recreation. The recreational movement in this country has a strong foothold, as is shown by community efforts everywhere to provide adequate parks, playgrounds, and athletic fields, supported by taxation. Recreation leaders, specially trained for the task, are often provided at public expense.

The use of public school property outside of school hours for recreational purposes has also won wide approval. Recreational programs are even being financed by private business organizations. Many large department stores in our cities have full-time paid recreation directors. Similar work has been introduced in mining camps and in factories. Business executives have found that the better morale, the greater contentment, and the increased loyalty of their working force, as well as the health benefits, make the investment a profitable one.

If recreation is important for children and adults in general, it is doubly so for these unadjusted girls in our correctional institutions. The amusements of many before they came to the training school have been of an entirely wrong type. They received their only "fun" in life from intense stimulation, usually in a place of bright lights and "jazz" music. They did not think of home as a place where they could have recreation. The training schools must re-educate them to enjoy wholesome amusement. This they are doing by providing amateur dramatics, outdoor play and many other activities.

We must not overlook the close relationship between public recreation and problems of sex. In speaking of the young people who may have had one illicit sex experience, Henry S. Curtis, director of hygiene and physical education in the state of Missouri,

[1] Lee, Joseph, Play in Education. Macmillan Co., New York, 1915, pp. 5–7.

says: "The girl or boy who goes over sex experiences in imagination again and again makes these experiences habitual. It is these imaginings which mold character, not the single act. Abundant recreation and social life are the best preventives we have of this type of day dreaming."[1] In answering the question as to what type of recreation will prevent sex dissipation, this same authority states that it must be vigorous in order to promote sound sleep, sufficiently absorbing to hold the interest, and be planned especially for adolescents. Thus we see the importance not only of avoiding the wrong types of recreation, but of providing the right types, since the latter may constitute a valuable safeguard to these girls, many of whom present serious sex problems.

An interesting use of the recreational attitudes and activities of boys and girls with behavior problems has been developed by the Institute for Juvenile Research in Chicago of which Dr. Herman Adler is the director. The work, which has been in the immediate charge of Miss Claudia Wannamaker, has evolved a method of approach to the child through his recreational activities which is giving some remarkably clear insights into the social and individual attitudes of children, and also is resulting in a new kind of social placing out with a very detailed, elaborate recreational program for each child as a part of his social treatment. First, complete information regarding the recreational resources of Chicago was collected and catalogued in the offices of the Institute for Juvenile Research. This included not only a list of all types of recreational agencies, but also copies of their schedules of daily activities kept up to date. The directors of the recreational centers were then interviewed, it being felt that personal contacts with these workers were essential in order to place properly cases which present personality and conduct problems. The play interests of each child were learned through interviews on play experiences. After his needs had been analyzed and a suitable recreation center found, the leader of that center was told frankly of the problems involved. Miss Wannamaker found that special recreational problems occur in certain types of cases. For example, a different kind of play

[1] "The Relation of Public Recreation to Problems of Sex." In Journal of Social Hygiene, New York, Vol. 10, April, 1924, p. 206.

Recreation Hour at Maine State School for Girls

was needed for the child who was backward or feeble-minded, for one of superior intelligence, and so forth.

This experiment is of great interest to workers connected with training schools because, as already said, most of the trouble with paroled girls occurs in their leisure time, not when they are working. The development of a suitable recreational plan for each child upon leaving the institution should be considered an important task of a parole agent. This, of course, would mean more agents than are usually provided. The question will be discussed again in Chapter XXI, Parole.

The conclusions of this research work in Chicago indicate a second reason why we feel that recreation is of special importance for delinquent girls, some of whom possess definite psychopathic personalities. For example, we are told by experts that the girl who is diagnosed as "psychopathic personality, egocentric type" needs in her recreational program a means of self-expression which offers opportunities for her to excel. Amateur dramatics may offer the right outlet or she may obtain the recognition she craves in clubs, organizations of Girl Scouts, and so forth. Psychiatrists tell us that if the basis of this egocentricity is some defect or failing, the recreational plan should avoid emphasizing it. The child who has this urge to be in the limelight may be helped by letting her lead in some socially accepted activity. What was once a handicap may even become an asset.

Of the girls not definitely psycopathic, many nevertheless need careful readjustment. A suitable recreational program can be of much assistance in helping these girls "find themselves." They will learn a better sense of proportion and of relative values through their play experiences.

Finally, recreation is of special importance in these training schools because it is a valuable means of character formation. Through it the girls may learn to become good losers, to take responsibility for their own actions and for those of the group, to obey the one in authority, and so forth. The value of recreation in developing character cannot be pointed out more forcibly than by the use of several illustrations furnished by the trained recreation director of the Girls' Industrial School at Delaware, Ohio:

I said that recreation and recreation alone, in my opinion, could save the delinquent from the necessary evils of even the best of institutional life. There was Eva, for instance. Eva was a chronic runaway. She ran away from home; she ran away from school; she ran away from probation; she ran away from the detention home; she ran away from the receiving cottage. I found her in a cell at a State school, beating herself into a pulp against stone walls. She looked out at me between thick strands of a bobbed head, for all the world like a young colt. She waved her arms like windmills and glared at the walls. Eva wanted more room to move around in, so I led her off into the picnic grove where there were wide views, comforting distances. She sat there silently looking out into space. Then she turned on me savagely, "I gotta be FREE," she announced. "I feel so shut-in." In Eva, I saw myself, as I was when a child. When I was Eva's age I ran away and sat in the fields for hours at a time. I, too, felt "shut-in," although living in a great, rambling old house, surrounded by a great rambling old garden.

But there had been an understanding mother in my case who encouraged me to spend hours in the fields, alone; who had understood that it wasn't my body that was "shut-in," but my individuality, and who had showed me the way to free it, through expression.

Eva became one of my play-leaders. That superabundance of energy, which after all, is a factor of genius, as well as crime, found an outlet in a legitimate way. There was enough dynamo in that girl to charge a group of 450 girls. . . . Everything she touched was a success. And through it all she learned that freedom had nothing whatever to do with bars or walls. She could get away from that feeling of being "shut-in" without running away. Eva was paroled in January. In March she wrote that she was going to school, and the principal of the school said she might teach games if she wanted to when school was out.

From that grew Saturday work on the school playground, then a summer of volunteer work on a playfield. After that came an enthusiastic letter. She could take a playground course, and she could work for her board, but would I lend her the money she needed and could not earn? Eva now is teaching a little rural school, and is handling the whole community's recreation. She writes me happy letters—each one more radiant than the last. What chance would that girl have had, with her passion for freedom, following the usual routine of an institution? None, whatever! It would have been an endless chain of runaway escapades, followed by days of lock-up.[1] . . . .

[1] Hunzicker, Beatrice Plumb, "Play for the Delinquent Girl." In Proceedings of the Thirty-second Annual Ohio Welfare Conference, Columbus, Ohio, 1922, p. 131.

A second case cited by this capable recreation leader is of a child who needed to learn the necessity of some laws and of obedience to them.

Then there was Sophie. In that child was an absolute absence of a sense of law. Only a genius may have this absence and be admired because of it. Sophie was "agin" everything. Although she obeyed law when forced to do so, yet one knew that when once she was "out" she would instantly commence law-breaking all over again.

Sophie learned the necessity of law through playing basketball. The morning Sophie knocked a girl down for breaking the rules of that game, Sophie commenced to be a law-abiding citizen. What chance would Sophie have had to learn this lesson following the usual routine of an institution? Keeping law because she was COMPELLED to do so, while she was hating herself and everybody else for the compulsion, would never help Sophie to reform. She had to really WANT to keep law, and it was only when games taught her the need of it that she wanted to.[1]

Another girl had come from a family whose members all "took the easy way." If school or a job was difficult, they quit. It was not to be wondered at that this girl became the prey of a street-walker:

If somebody else stole her paper route, she quit the route. Now, realizing as I do that competition is one of the greatest forces in human progress, I know that girl must learn to compete. If she does not, she will always be in the gutter.

There is nothing in the usual routine of an institution to teach her this very necessary art of competing. She is fed and clothed, with no undue effort on her part. She is kept warm in the winter and cool in the summer. There is always a roof over her head. When she writes a letter, somebody provides her with a postage stamp. When she needs shoes, she has but to say so. Through games, I teach her to shut down her teeth hard, close her mouth, and fight to hold her position. She dislikes to be called "softy" and "yellow" by an angry captain. She learns to compete.[2]

We should add, perhaps, that the usual routine referred to by Mrs. Hunzicker is the old-fashioned one which does not represent the best work now being done for delinquent girls. Illustrations similar to those cited above could be duplicated for other institutions that have trained recreation directors who are effecting great changes in character through play activities.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 132. [2] *Ibid.*

Recreational Needs

In our opinion there are six major recreational needs to be met by a progressive training school for girls. We will explain these briefly.

First, there should be recognition and understanding of the part play may fill in the development of character. While play and exercise are necessary to physical health, they are but a small part of the real function of a recreational program. Writing upon the value of play, a member of the staff of the Department of Recreation, Russell Sage Foundation, has said:

> Children at play readily build up a definite set of rules and traditions. When new games are undertaken they agree upon self-imposed regulations or modifications to meet particular situations. Once agreed upon, these become absolutely binding. . . . The spirit of such self-regulated play we take over into our daily life; and when of an act an American says, "It isn't playing the game," or an Englishman, "That's not cricket," each in his own way testifies to the strength of the motive of social control built up for us by our games.[1]

Second, the spirit of play should permeate the entire institution. The word "play" as used here refers not merely to certain recreational projects, but rather to the mental attitude toward numerous activities. A spirit of play may be present, for example, in all the work of cottage life and in the prevocational classes. In one school which we visited the girls had canned large quantities of fruit for winter use. Both officers and girls were anxiously looking forward to the time when the fruit season should be over in order that this tedious work might be completed. In another institution, fortunate in having a progressive superintendent, we found the girls canning fruit outdoors, with only meager equipment, but receiving great pleasure in the processes. Different cottages did the work on different days and there was a spirit of keen but friendly rivalry. Some new girls, who had not shown enthusiasm over other work of the institution, expressed great delight in the results of their labor when they pointed out the particular cans of fruit bearing their names. Each girl's efforts

[1] Atkinson, R. K., Play for Children in Institutions. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1923, p. 10.

were thus credited to her. In this second institution fruit canning was not drudgery but play; at the same time the result was of practical use to the institution.

Bowen and Mitchell in their book, The Theory of Organized Play, give considerable emphasis to the point of view that the spirit of play should enter into our serious pursuits.

> From the educational standpoint, play has as its essential characteristic for the player an absorbing interest in the occupation in which he is engaged. The spirit of play is the joyous and self-forgetting enthusiasm in the pursuit of an occupation, in the accomplishment of a purpose, or in the attainment of an ideal. It is this spirit that gives play its unequalled driving power and its superior value in education. Play is not to be contrasted with work but with drudgery. Play and drudgery are the two ways of getting work done; the former by inspiration and the latter by compulsion. The best definition of play is probably that given by Gulick when he said, "Play is what we do because we want to do it."
>
> Play, however, can be subjected to direction without loss of the play spirit; and play has been institutionalized. The play spirit is creeping into our pursuit of health, and is being directed toward that end; it is finding a place in our educational systems; it has always been a religious function; and it is ever the impulse of the highest type of art. The one danger always present in institutionalized play is that the remote end will sometimes obliterate the immediate aim of the play impulse; and then the play spirit is gone.[1]

A third need, which in no way conflicts with the spirit of play running through all the occupations in the institution, is that sufficient time be set aside for active recreation. Preferably it should be at stipulated periods in order that it be not crowded out by a full work or school program. When superintendents speak of time for recreation, they often have in mind different types of things. A certain amount of time every day should be set aside for active recreation, but in addition, each girl should have some free time in which to do largely what she likes. If the school has a trained leader she should teach the girls for a definite length of time games and exercises they can practice in their free or play periods. One recreation specialist, who has a knowledge of institutions, states that two hours of active recreation daily should

[1] Bowen, Wilbur P., and Mitchell, Elmer D., The Theory of Organized Play. A. S. Barnes and Co., New York, 1923, pp. 203–204.

be the minimum in such schools. Of these he feels that one-half hour should be spent with the director for the purpose of inspiration and development of new activities. This minimum of two hours should be exclusive of the evening hours spent in the cottage after supper. In many institutions, especially in the winter, this time drags. Interesting projects should be worked out for these hours but active outdoor recreation is generally not feasible. In the girls' "free time" their imagination may be given considerable opportunity for expression. This period provides an outlet for their own interests. An officer may be present when girls are enjoying this type of recreation, but they should be allowed to choose their own diversion. We have seen a group of 20 amusing themselves in a half-dozen different ways.

A fourth recreational need is of practically equal importance with the three already mentioned. This is the right type of trained leader. Numerous superintendents told us how much they regretted that there was so little recreation in their institution, but that they could not secure the money to build a gymnasium. Instead of mourning this fact they should encourage a play spirit in the other activities and provide directed recreation on the campus or in the cottage living rooms. A trained recreation leader and special equipment are both desirable, but of the two the former is far more important. All of the larger schools should have a well-trained resident recreation director, even if she gives some time to other work. In smaller schools where it seems impossible to include such a person on the staff, it is sometimes possible to secure the part-time service of a trained leader, or even the assistance of volunteers from the outside. In addition, there are often dormant in certain members of the staff special abilities that, through reading, conferences with recreation experts, and possibly a short course in some school, could be developed to a fair degree of efficiency. We found in a number of schools people with no particular recreational training doing worthwhile work.

In discussing the problem of trained leadership, Mr. Atkinson has said:

> . . . many institutions, even while deploring the fact that they have no funds for the employment of specialists, make no effort to avail themselves of the talent that they possess. The best way to assure progress is

to begin. A person of intelligence who has real sympathy with child life can, if he is provided with the literature on the subject, master a sufficient repertoire of games to establish some kind of beneficial recreational period. Such a beginning would do more than any amount of abstract reasoning to "sell" the idea of play to a governing board and to convince contributing friends that it belongs in a régime of health and education.[1]

In choosing a director great care should be taken to select one who understands and likes girls and who puts them ahead of any skill she may wish to develop. Not accurate drill formation, for example, but the benefit to the girl through participation is the important point. The director must be able to lead the girls, not drive them, and to develop the recreational period into time to which they look forward with pleasure.

The fifth need is that recreation should be participated in by all and not be the performance of a few. A ball team may show admirable spirit and skill, but there should be other activities for the girls not playing ball. The ideal is not to develop girl athletes, but to offer a recreational program which will give the maximum help to all. Another thing to be avoided is the giving of undue emphasis to the bringing together of groups of girls "to be entertained" by adults. After the girls have been shown how to conduct a dance or a play, for example, and have had some experience, they will enjoy it more and will gain a sense of responsibility if they themselves do the work under the direction of the recreation leader.

The sixth and final need is equipment. While recreational equipment, of course, makes the carrying out of a suitable program easier, it is not to be classed with the requisites already discussed. A school may do very good work under trained leadership with only a meager recreational equipment. As a school is financially able to increase it, certain matters should be remembered. In a special gymnasium, or a room used for that purpose, equipment should be provided that can be pushed back against the walls in order to leave a large clear space in the center for games. Personally we feel that no basement rooms below the ground level should be used for play purposes. They are often damp, poorly ventilated, and cheerless. It is better to have very simple furnishings in the cottage

[1] Play for Children in Institutions. p. 15.

living rooms that will not be injured by the quieter forms of recreational activities. Of great importance is sufficient outdoor play space. It need not be a formal playground, especially in the country with all outdoors to choose from. In every school that gives any emphasis to formal games, such as baseball, there is need for an athletic field. In our opinion of more importance than a formal playground or an athletic field is the play space surrounding each cottage. If life in an institution is to approximate the home life of an average family, there should if possible be play space in the immediate proximity of each cottage.

Present Situation

How are the recreational needs cited in the preceding pages being met in these public institutions for delinquent girls? We cite below figures to show how many have trained recreation leaders:

Provision for Recreation Specialists	Number of Schools
Resident, full-time recreation specialist	9
Resident, part-time recreation specialist (with other duties)	6
Visiting recreation specialist	4
Recreation specialist in summer months only	2
No services of recreation specialist	36
Total schools	57

This table shows that over one-third of the schools (21 of 57) have part-time or full-time service of a trained worker. In only nine is there a resident, full-time director. Among the schools which have a resident specialist (either full or part-time) are the following: Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut; New York State Training School for Girls at Hudson; Samarçand Manor, Samarcand, North Carolina; Girls' Training School, Gainesville, Texas; State Industrial Home for Girls, Adrian, Michigan; Chicago Home for Girls, Illinois; El Retiro, San Fernando, California.

It is of interest to note the degree in which recreation is planned for the girls and in which they initiate it themselves.

Band Practice

Where Work Is Play

Planning of Recreation	Number of Schools
By officers exclusively	18
By officers partly and some initiated by the girls	30
No recreation plan	9
Total schools	57

It is seen that in approximately one-half (30 out of 57) of the schools, part of the recreation is planned by officers (recreation director, teacher, cottage mother, or other member of the staff) and part initiated by the girls themselves. This would seem to be the ideal plan. The absence in nine schools of any plan and the leaving of all recreation to the impulses of the girls is unfortunate. On the other hand, it is not desirable that it should all by planned by adults, as we found was done in 18 institutions.

It is also of interest to note the degree in which recreation is supervised.

Supervision of Recreation	Number of Schools
All recreational periods supervised	44
Some periods supervised, others not	12
No effort at supervision	1
Total schools	57

In approximately three-fourths of the schools the girls are under supervision every moment of their recreational periods; they may, however, themselves initiate recreational activities. In one-fifth (12 of 57) they are not always supervised. In some instances this indicates lack of needed direction, but in others a high grade of student morale. In some of these latter instances a girl officer of the student government organization is in charge of the group.

The amount of time allowed for recreation varies considerably in different institutions. We endeavored to procure from each school an estimate, given on page 324, of the time daily provided the girls for exercise and active recreation, not including the evening hours, which are in many instances "free time." Considering all the institutions, the average provision for exercise and recreation was between two and three hours daily. While in a few

schools, in our opinion, the allowance was inadequate, in the majority it was sufficient.

Daily Time Allowance for Exercise and Active Recreation	Number of Schools
One hour or less	5
More than one hour, not more than two hours	19
More than two hours, not more than three hours	21
More than three hours	1
Time varied, no definite amount daily	11
Total schools	57

Ten of the 57 schools had a gymnasium. In three of these it occupied a separate building; in some instances this building served other functions, although it was primarily a gymnasium. At the time of our study seven additional schools were definitely planning to have gymnasiums. Nearly half (26 of 57) had athletic fields. Most of the institutions not situated in cities had some play space surrounding each cottage, and the majority had one or more central playgrounds.

While some idea as to how the recreational needs are being met in these schools can be obtained from the statistics cited, perhaps an even better idea can be secured through a few illustrations of the activities carried on. The Girls' Training School, Gainesville, Texas, is credited with being the first correctional institution in the United States to organize a Girl Scout troop under a charter from the national headquarters of this movement.[1] Members wear regulation uniforms for all Scout activities. The State Industrial School for Girls, Tecumseh, Oklahoma, is said to have had the second Girl Scout troop admitted to the national organization from an institution for delinquents. In the State Industrial School for Girls, Adrian, Michigan, 60 members had passed the Scout tests and had perfected a local organization, although there was no national charter.

At Samarcand Manor, Samarcand, North Carolina, considerable attention has been given to long hikes and even to week-end

[1] Sleighton Farm, Pennsylvania, and the Virginia Home and Industrial School for Girls at Bon Air had at an early date a number of Girls' Camp Fire groups, which antedated by some years the organization on a nation-wide basis of the Girl Scouts.

camping trips. To take large groups of so-called delinquent girls into the woods for overnight camping, without a mishap, constitutes an achievement worth noting. They are taught how to select a camp site, how to build a simple overnight camp, and to clean up afterward. As many as 130 girls have slept out in camps at one time. Generally two officers accompany each group to protect the girls from possible outside interference. These excursions have been tried on a smaller scale by a few other schools. In the small new school at Helena, Montana, the officers take groups of girls on hikes, on fishing trips, picnics, and even on horseback rides. They have had some three-day camping trips.

In the Chicago Home for Girls a young woman graduate of the University of Wisconsin is making a real contribution as recreation director. She has formed an athletic association for membership in which the girls strive hard. She also teaches folk dancing. By groups the girls are given daily supervised recreation and play leaders are developed on whom rest considerable responsibility and the opportunity for initiative. At Sleighton Farm, Pennsylvania, the girls participate in many celebrations and festivities that permit much self-expression and individual initiative. For example, the girls of advanced school grade gave Dickens' Christmas Carol; one cottage arranged a Mother Goose program; each May-time the pupils take part in a pageant of songs and dances in the sunken garden, in the parades, booths, stunts, and farm exhibits of a county fair and in annual corn-husking contests—all of which they greatly enjoy. This school always has some big objective toward which it is working. Some will be learning their parts for a play, others designing and making costumes, still others preparing articles for sale at a bazaar, and so forth.

One of the best planned and best carried out recreational programs was found in The Girls' Industrial School, Delaware, Ohio. It was in charge of a woman specialist who had formerly organized playgrounds for the city of Detroit. She had two assistants who performed other duties in the institution, also numerous girl play leaders who bore considerable responsibility. At the time of our study there were daily gymnastic exercises and regular play periods during which all the girls were out of doors. An admirable achievement was the establishment of 45 clubs among the 560 girls in the

institution; these included clubs in all the cottages except those in which the new and the demoted girls lived. Each girl had the privilege of becoming a member of two clubs, which permitted her to spend two evenings a week in an interesting meeting. Each cottage was supposed to provide a special meeting place for its clubs, and many had appropriate decorations, such as pennants and banners. These clubs had a wide range of interests: dramatics, current events, handwork, and so forth.

These various recreational activities which we have here pointed out actually constitute part of the disciplinary program of these institutions. It has been demonstrated that there is no greater single factor in constructive discipline than a well-planned, well-directed, recreational program. This matter will be referred to again in Chapter XIX, Discipline—Constructive and Corrective.

In our opinion the use of recreation in the scientific study and treatment of the individual with conduct disorders is only in its beginning. We wish, therefore, in conclusion to urge the addition of trained recreation leaders to the staffs of the schools wherever their size and financial condition will possibly warrant. The right type of leader will make an exceedingly important contribution to this work with delinquent girls. We believe that the day will come when no modern training school would be without the services of such a recreation specialist any more than it would be without a medical service or an academic department.

CHAPTER XVIII

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS TRAINING

IN RECENT years there has been greatly increased interest in the desirability of providing moral instruction and religious education for all children. The newspapers and magazines of the country have published long articles by representatives of various religious faiths who point out the great need of such training for our young people. A few years ago a memorable meeting in New York was attended by Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, who were attempting to unite in a movement to secure wide acceptance of this view. All were moved by the same idea, namely, that "without a moral sense no civilization can endure." They believed that this moral sense can best be developed where there is acceptance of some religious belief. These leaders of various creeds from the same platform urged practically the same program. They would have moral instruction given to all public school children. If possible, they would even provide instruction in religious principles and doctrines for all, except perhaps for the small number of children whose parents wish them to grow up without any religious education whatever. The churches would probably co-operate with the schools in any such plan and perhaps provide the religious instruction. Discussion of the advisability of providing instruction in ethics and perhaps even in religious theories for all children has not been limited to the clergy or religious workers, but has extended to educators, social workers, and in fact, to all interested in the welfare of the child and his family.

One hears social workers and teachers speak of the lack of "moral values" in many of the children with whom they deal; probation officers and judges of juvenile courts, especially, tell us that what some of their cases need most of all is to develop a "moral sense." Some who feel that the home and the church have rather fallen down on their task of providing this moral and religious instruction favor its inclusion in the public school cur-

riculum. Some even try to explain "crime waves" as the result of the failure to provide it. A number of atrocious crimes in recent years have been committed by very young people, and many persons believe that at least a few of these youths would have turned their energies in other directions if from early childhood they had received the right type of moral and religious education.

Some ministers of the gospel have given as a reason for the increased interest in the subject the awakening following the World War. It is claimed that the war experience has caused people to think more deeply about things that have fundamental values. Perhaps the most important factor, however, in the increased desire of lay workers, as well as of church people, to provide religious education is that many who in the past criticized the type of instruction given in many old-fashioned Sunday schools, are enthusiastic about the newer forms. Religious education, as a science, is only in the making. Hugh Hartshorne, of the Faculty of Religious Education in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, thus defines it:

> Religious education, therefore, is the process by which the individual, in response to a controlled environment, achieves a progressive, conscious, social adjustment, dominated by the spirit of brotherhood, and so directed as to promote the growth of a social order based on regard for the worth and destiny of every individual.
>
> The process of religious education takes place as the individual lives among people, comes into touch with the highest type of spiritual life in the present and in the past, and responds to this life and this ideal by developing the habits, attitudes and purposes that serve to give range and direction to the constructive social tendencies, and to hold in check or direct or convert such tendencies as are destructive of the social good. Identical with the process of religious education is the individual's increasing participation in the worship, work and fellowship of the world, and his increasing contribution to its progress toward the social ideal. . . .
>
> The goal of religious education for the individual is thus seen to be the completely socialized will, expressed in a life which is sharing increasingly in the knowledge and work of an eternal society, and in the joy of human and divine companionship—in a word, world-citizenship.[1]

[1] Hartshorne, Hugh, Childhood and Character. Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1919, pp. 5–6.

Chapel at Montrose School for Girls, Woodensburg, Maryland

"Sunshine Cottage"
A Homelike Dwelling for Fourteen Honor Girls

Religious education of this type tends to develop an objective point of view in the individual. His worth will be determined by the contribution he makes to the welfare of the group and not simply by his acquiring certain abstract qualities of honor, truth, honesty, and so forth. The emphasis, under this type of religious education, is on the purpose and the resulting action rather than on abstract qualities of character. The authority previously quoted states:

> We lack words with which to describe these social achievements. We have only the words that are associated with individualistic ethics and a "faculty" psychology, such as honesty, generosity, courtesy, patience. These words measure abstractions, not concrete achievements, though they may help, to be sure, in the conquering of special faults or weaknesses. In their stead we need such terms as . . . "justice," . . . "friendship," "peace," together with principles of conduct in terms of actual deeds, such as . . . "play fair," . . . "think of others first," "be a good sport," . . . rather than "be kind," "be cheerful," "be good," . . . and the like.[1]

George Albert Coe, formerly professor of religious education at Teachers College, Columbia University, also an authority on the subject of social importance of religious education, emphasizes the distinction between the mere passing on of church doctrines to our children and the cultivation of active devotion:

> Whoever thinks that Christian education has achieved its main end with any pupil when it has led him to cross a line that separates the saved from the unsaved—whoever thinks this, misses the meaning of love. Love is active, outgoing. . . . Moreover, because the aim is active devotion, Christian education does not consist primarily in the transference of a set of ideas from one generation to another, but rather in the cultivation of intelligent will. . . . There can be no successful Christian education that does not increase the amount of effective, not merely sentimental, brotherhood in the world. . . . In and through his growing participation in the creation of an ideal society the pupil will realize his fellowship with the Father.[2]

Hartshorne, Coe, and other advocates of this newer type of religious education give a wide social interpretation to this whole subject. They are as truly exponents of a highly socialized re-

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 238–239.

[2] A Social Theory of Religious Education. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1923, p. 56.

ligious education as are our leading educators of socialized education along other lines. The church and the school under such plans are actually social institutions. No progressive social worker of today should fail to inform himself regarding what is taking place in this movement for the extension of religious education.

Special Problems

There are special problems involved in providing religious instruction for girls in public correctional institutions. They are inherent, first, in the type of girls in care; and second, in the fact that these institutions are publicly supported and controlled. As already stated, in a state training school there are brought together in one place a group of children who represent the most difficult conduct problems found in the various communities of that state. While in every public school there may be individual children with similar problems, yet here we have a picked group with practically every member presenting serious behavior problems. The need for the right kind of moral instruction is therefore greater even than in the public schools. If the ultimate goal of these schools is to return to the community well adjusted girls, equipped because of the development of their character and personality to meet successfully the issues of life, the right type of moral and religious education is here specially needed. If case studies were made of all the homes from which these girls came, we should probably find that they had received very little of the newer type of religious training (perhaps of any type) before they came to the institution.

Since the parents of these children are likely to be of different faiths and most of the institutions included in our study were supported by states, counties, or municipalities, ecclesiastical or denominational instruction can be given only if the groups are taught separately. In other words, Jewish and Catholic children should not be required to attend services which are strictly Protestant in character. Much the same problem arises in reference to religious training in the public schools.

Present Situation

It is of interest to note the present situation in these schools in respect to formal religious instruction. We shall confine ourselves

here chiefly to a consideration of the religious services provided. Moral principles and values are inculcated in these children through various phases of the program already discussed or which will be taken up in succeeding chapters. We have seen, for example, that character is developed through the recreational program. A student government organization may be another definite means of securing for the girls these values. The newer type of religious education, in fact, concerns itself with problems which are the very heart and soul of the entire task with these delinquent girls. The work of a religious director should be closely correlated with that of the psychologist, the recreation director, and the social case worker in making a well-rounded plan for meeting the needs of the individual girl.

Unlike some of the training schools for boys, no school for girls has a resident chaplain. Two, however, have full-time resident religious workers, and one has a resident part-time worker who also carries other duties. For these positions an effort is made to secure people who have had special religious training, as, for example, graduates of the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago. In no girls' school did we find a director of religious education doing the type of work outlined by the present leaders of the religious education movement. The present religious workers teach Bible history, conduct Sunday school classes, and so forth.

The provisions for church services for these girls may be seen from the following summary:

Provision for Religious Services	Number of Schools
Services in institution by regular visiting minister (same person)	15
Services in institution by visiting ministers (different persons)	28
Services in institution by resident lay officers	3
All girls attend outside church services	10
No regular provision for church service	1
Total schools	57

The regular or irregular services conducted by visiting clergymen, referred to in this table, apply only to the Protestant ministers. Where there are separate services in the institution for Catholic

or Jewish children the same priest or rabbi usually comes each week.

Whether services are held in the institution, or whether the girls attend outside churches, it is of interest to note if there is provision for separate services for Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish girls.

Provision for Religious Services for Different Sects	Number of Schools
Separate services for different sects	33
No separate services regularly	19
Special services occasionally	5
Total schools	57

In some schools where there are no girls of the Hebrew faith, or very few, "separate services" mean those for Catholics and Protestants only. Some schools attempt to have services for some of the different Protestant denominations. Where both Catholic and Protestant girls attend the same service, generally there is considerable effort to have it strictly non-sectarian and non-denominational. The majority of the superintendents of these schools are Protestants, but a number are Catholics. In no school did we feel that there was any attempt to proselyte. In one state institution whose superintendent was Catholic, we heard accusations that she was "making all the girls Catholic," but our study did not give us this impression.

The situation in regard to voluntary or required attendance at church services may thus be shown:

Attendance at Church Services	Number of Schools
Required attendance	44
Voluntary attendance	4
"All girls want to come," and question of obligation had not been raised	8
	56
Not stated	1
Total schools	57

It is seen that in three-fourths of the training schools for girls (44 of 57) each girl is definitely required to attend some religious

service, and in an additional eight schools the question has never been raised, since "all girls want to come." If separate services are held for different sects each girl attends, of course, the service of her own faith.

The number of institutions in which all or part of the girls attend outside churches regularly or irregularly is given below:

Attendance at Outside Churches	Number of Schools
All girls attend outside church services regularly	10
Part of girls attend outside church services regularly	10
Part of girls attend outside church services irregularly	5
No girls attend outside church services	32
Total schools	57

This question of attendance at outside churches will be referred to again in Chapter XX, Community Aspects of Institutional Life.

In addition to regular church services (either within the institution or outside), more than three-fourths of the schools (45 of 57) conduct a weekly Sunday school within the institution. In an additional case, the girls attend a Sunday school in a neighboring community. When one is conducted within the institution, officers on the staff generally act as teachers. In a few instances a Sunday school superintendent and a group of teachers from an outside church come each Sunday afternoon to conduct Sunday school in the institution. In a few additional cases, one or more outside lay workers come to the institution for this purpose. In 18 of the 57 schools, in addition to church services and Sunday school, there are regular weekly young people's meetings. They take the form of prayer meetings, services of the Christian Endeavor Society or of a Young Women's Christian Association. In all these gatherings the girls themselves take part and in some they conduct the entire meeting.

The remuneration of visiting clergymen should be included in this discussion. Only a few receive a regular yearly or monthly salary from the institution. Usually ministers are paid for each visit—generally $5.00 or $10; some receive no remuneration.

Needs in Field of Religious Education

An attempt to analyze the needs in this field in the training schools shows that first of all there should be a definite, well-rounded plan for providing religious education. The present practice in an appreciable number of schools of having different clergymen on different Sundays is certainly not to be recommended. It is as irrational as it would be to carry on the academic school or medical service in the same manner. No clergyman knows what his brother worker has done or said. There is no well-outlined plan toward which each is contributing. In some instances the girls are "practiced on" by divinity students. There is probably no more difficult audience than a group of these girls and their needs call for the services of an expert, not of a novice. Even when the same minister comes each Sunday, it is generally to preach a sermon and not to give individual help to the girls. Many of the sermons we heard in these schools would be understood only by adults versed in religious subjects. These girls receive practically no benefit from such a service. It is sometimes difficult for superintendents of training schools to secure the kind of religious service they desire, when they must depend upon the ministers available in neighboring small communities.

The second great need is to make the religious training dynamic and objective. Unless it is alive, it will not hold the interest of these girls. Religious education should be provided which is as modern in type as is the general education plan. The project method, for example, may be applied to religious education as well as to general education. The participation of pupils in Christian enterprises is emphasized by Mr. Coe, already quoted, who gives this very sound advice:

> Nothing in Christian education can be more fundamental, therefore, than participation of pupils with one another and with their elders in Christian enterprises; that is, enterprises that aim at social welfare, social justice, and a world society. . . . The point is that children obtain the best social training by being a real part of the working force of the world. They mature their control of tools not by merely handling them or by brandishing them in the air, but by doing some part of the world's work. We as educators are not to place the child in any invented scheme of spiritual gymnastics—things done wholly for the sake of the future—

but rather, recognizing the vast variety and scope of social need, we are to admit even little children to partnership with us in the enterprise of meeting it. This is the way for them to acquire not only the mechanics of social work, but also the intelligence and the trained and sympathetic perceptions of a mature Christian. What a practical absurdity it is that so many church members should make their first real acquaintance with philanthropies, social reforms and missions, in mature life, and what wonder is it that intimate acquaintance under these conditions is so rare?[1]

In the majority of the schools the girls are constantly receiving, but there is little or no consideration of the need for them to give. Dependent for the time being upon the state, it is thought perfectly proper that they should take, without their being expected to share with others. Christmas at most of the institutions is a very happy occasion, at which time there are gifts for each girl. In a few schools only do the girls give something to some one else. Some of these make toys for children in the locality who would otherwise have no Christmas presents. In a couple of schools the girls of each cottage adopt a family in the nearby city; they provide a Christmas dinner from food which they themselves have raised on the farm, and presents for the children are products of their own handiwork. In teaching these girls, even while they are wards of the state, not to be satisfied with being recipients only, but to share what they have, though it is little, these schools are encouraging a practice which it is to be hoped the girls may continue in their life in the community. Such projects should, however, not be limited to any one season of the year.

A number of superintendents feel that one of the ways to make moral training dynamic is to have graded instruction in ethics. Such a course would probably be added to the curriculum of the academic department. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of material suited to the needs of these girls. There are several worth-while textbooks outlining daily graded instruction in moral principles, but most are not suited to these girls. Generally they are planned to meet the needs of very young pupils only.

In addition to a comprehensive plan for moral training and religious instruction and to having such education dynamic and objective, a third important need exists. Such instruction should

[1] Coe, George Albert, A Social Theory of Religious Education. pp. 69–70.

be definitely related to and correlated with the other phases of the institutional program. In all her occupations and play a girl should learn to put into practice the moral principles she has heard discussed in the graded class in ethics.

This discussion leads us to the final great need in this field, in these schools—the need of a religious director who is a specialist in religious education. If possible, she should be a resident member of the staff. She should work closely with other workers in the institution, as the psychologist, social case worker, recreation director, academic teacher, and cottage mother, in an effort to secure complete understanding of the individual girl and aid in project planning for her. In smaller institutions this worker might carry other duties; for example, she might be the director of student government, or possibly an academic teacher. The religious director should give moral and ethical instruction to all the girls in the training school, and help with the religious services for the Protestant children. Catholic and Jewish children should have separate services by ministers of their faith. There are now some schools of religious education which graduate young women definitely fitted for such tasks. We believe that a trained religious director would make a large contribution toward the fulfilment of the fundamental purpose of these schools.

If religious education is to be a vital factor in the re-education and readjustment of these girls, in addition to a modern type of religious education and the services of a specialist as religious director, one needs a staff which, as a group, will be able and willing to participate completely in such a program. The most potent spiritual force for the development of character and the cultivation of religion in the hearts of children is personal contact. Children acquire their ideals and their standards of human life from the older people with whom they are in close contact. Formal religious instruction can be given only for a brief portion of each week, but the spiritual influence of the members of the staff upon the children is continuous. Therefore, all the members of such a staff who work with the girls must themselves have high ideals of character, real devotion to the work, and consecration.

CHAPTER XIX

DISCIPLINE—CONSTRUCTIVE AND CORRECTIVE

IN THE minds of many, "discipline" and "punishment" are synonymous terms. A dictionary definition of discipline is "systematic training or subjection to authority; especially, the training of the mental, moral, and physical powers by instruction and exercise, and by authoritative control and direction; as educational discipline; a course of exercise and practice in order to bring and keep under control, and to qualify for harmonious and effective action; as military or party discipline."

The same authority defines punishment as "pain or any other penalty inflicted on a person for a crime or offense, by an authority to which the offender is subject; a penalty imposed, as for transgression of law; hence, any pain or detriment suffered in consequence of wrong-doing." In general, these definitions indicate that punishment, as commonly thought of, is something inflicted by another upon a person because of his transgressions, while discipline concerns itself with a program of training and instruction whereby it is hoped the offender will be induced voluntarily to change or improve his conduct. A number of superintendents of training schools for girls stated emphatically that one should no longer think in terms of "punishment"; that it is not a question of "what a girl does and what should be done to her," but rather how to find and apply the type of instruction and treatment that will be most beneficial to the individual.

As used in our study, "constructive discipline" includes treatment, training, and adjustment of an individual with behavior problems. The term embraces various means of developing personality and encouraging self-expression. We use the word "corrective" to cover measures whose chief aim seems to be the eradication of specific acts or faults. Under this latter heading we shall include also some forms of punishment with little or no disciplinary value. Constructive discipline places emphasis on the building

of character; corrective discipline on the rectification of shortcomings. One is positive in its conception, the other largely negative.

Interrelationships. The question of discipline looms large in many of these schools; but we found numerous progressive superintendents who agree with the writer that discipline should be considered as one part only of a comprehensive program of remotivating and readjusting these problem children. Questions often thought of as being purely matters of discipline are as a matter of fact closely related to the work undertaken by the psychologist, the psychiatrist, social case worker, recreation director, and other workers.

Underlying Ideas

Not Act but Motive. Before discussing disciplinary measures, we need to give attention to a few underlying ideas. First, we wish to emphasize the principle that it is not the *action* of a child which should receive attention but the *motive* behind the action. In this day of widespread interest in modern child psychology, this statement seems too obvious to need comment, but we found in numerous instances that disciplinary practices in these schools were not based upon such an idea. Not what a child does, but what makes him do it is important. For example, three boys may be tossing a ball in a city street which constitutes their only playground. One boy may toss his ball against the side of a brick tenement, with no harm resulting. He is considered a "good" boy. The second lad, in the pursuit of his pleasure, may break a window. He is considered mischievous. The ball belonging to the third boy may hit a man and injure him seriously. In many cases this boy is judged a delinquent or pre-delinquent. Now all three of these children probably had the same impulse; namely, to derive pleasure from playing ball. They may need training as to the proper way to handle their balls and a warning to heed passers-by or windows, but it is not a case for "punishment" if a child accidentally injures property or even a person.

In the Introduction to Three Problem Children: Narratives from the Case Records of a Child Guidance Clinic, by Mary B. Sayles, we are told that:

The Girls Learn Through Care of Animals

Floriculture as Constructive Discipline

Behavior is now seen not as a problem in itself, but as the result of causes often complex and hidden. It is coming to be understood as the external manifestation of an interplay between great instinctive forces in the individual and the effort of society to shape these forces to serve its own ends. Enlarged understanding of the factors which lie behind conduct problems is bringing about fundamental modifications of the orthodox methods used by teachers, parents, and others in handling children. Long ago common sense taught parents to go back of the baby's cry and seek physical causes. . . . The modern understanding of behavior means that the day is dawning when the factors that lie behind conduct will be studied as intelligently as the physical causes which lie behind the baby's cry.

This point of view challenges particularly some of the traditional methods of discipline based upon the old and inadequate conception of the nature of behavior. For under the revealing light of psychiatric study the conduct of many a child which has appeared to parent or teacher to present solely a moral issue is found actually to have its origin not in the child but in circumstances over which he has no control. Indeed wrong behavior on the part of a child may frequently contain no element of perversity or sin but may reflect solely the bad handling of his problem by parents or teachers whose motives are of the best and who believe that the steps they are taking are wise. . . .[1]

In accordance with this principle of studying motives and not punishing actions, it is essential that all personal bias against the child, who by adult standards has misbehaved, shall be eliminated. The advice applies to parent, teacher, institutional matron or superintendent, and finally to society as a whole. It is not a question of what is convenient to the adult, but what is best for the child; not what the child "*deserves*," but what he *needs* and what will help him most. It may be possible to control a child's actions for the time being because of his fear of punishment. Such children may become more or less "model" inmates of institutions. They do what they are told; outwardly they are conformists, but they never take the initiative. When they leave the institution for community life they often present difficult conduct problems. The mainsprings of their conduct have never been discovered, and remain unchanged.

[1] Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, Publication No. 2, New York (n. d.) pp. 7–8.

Individualized Study and Treatment. Closely allied to emphasizing motives rather than actions is our second underlying idea for discipline in these schools—the necessity for individualized scientific study and treatment for all children with behavior problems if we hope to effect a permanent improvement in their conduct. All institutional workers with any responsibility for discipline should have some understanding of modern child psychology. Often the need is to change the child's ideas before we can hope to have any effect on his actions. The entire individual must be understood, which means a study of physical, psychological, and social factors. After the worker understands the girl who presents behavior problems, the girl, too, as far as possible, must come to understand the factors in her own case. The aim, of course, is to secure active co-operation from her before any project or treatment is undertaken. To handle such a situation requires great skill. Not only should she understand some of the reasons for her actions, but she should have faith in her "doctor." It often helps to let the child talk it out, and through the giving of her confidence she may ultimately realize some of her own problems. Children who have had to be removed from their homes and committed to a state correctional institution generally present physiological, psychological, personality, and social problems needing careful study. Because of the wrong kind of treatment in their own homes they are likely to be very unstable. Some are definitely psychopathic, and these obviously are not cases for punishment but for very careful study and treatment by specialists.

A psychiatrist of note, who has made a vital contribution to the thinking in the field of juvenile delinquency, states some of the elements most essential to the study of the individual child with behavior problems:

> Adequate study means finding the influences at work in the delinquent's life, influences perhaps remaining over from early childhood experiences or arising perhaps from family conditions on the basis of which grudges are formed . . . influences perhaps from hidden bad habits, or involving matters of frequently recurrent ideation or impulse—adequate study means finding any of a thousand and one conditions and experiences, the existence or absence of which one cannot tell beforehand. . . .
>
> A careful study of even a few of the simplest cases of stealing, for

example, shows motives so different, shows such variations in impulse, in personality background, and in the stealing as phenomena of reaction to environment, that good sense calls for knowledge of causation and personality in every case in order to have any clear idea of how effectively to combat the delinquent tendency.[1]

Another keen thinker in this field, who also has made a large contribution to the understanding of problems of conduct, states:

Parents, priests, chiefs, social censors have supplied aims, aims which were foreign to those upon whom they were imposed, to the young, laymen, ordinary folk. . . . Everybody knows that good children are those who make as little trouble as possible for their elders, and since most of them (children) cause a good deal of annoyance they must be naughty by nature. Generally speaking, good people have been those who did what they were told to do, and lack of eager compliance is a sign of something wrong in their nature. . . .

Lack of understanding of human nature is the primary cause of disregard for it. . . . What cannot be understood cannot be managed intelligently. It has to be forced into subjection from without. . . . Hence a decline in the authority of social oligarchy was accompanied by a rise of scientific interest in human nature. This means that the make-up and working of human forces affords a basis for moral ideas and ideals. Our science of human nature in comparison with physical sciences is rudimentary. . . .[2]

Growth of Personality. A third important consideration in regard to discipline is that it should encourage the growth of each child's personality and individuality. If, as Angelo Patri says, "Real discipline is a growth of self," then it is important to emphasize "do" rather than "don't." Growth means doing. This New York schoolmaster states fundamental principles in an attractive, simple fashion which everyone can understand. In his book on Child Training he says:

Discipline is real only when the control is exercised by the person concerned. Real discipline is purely a personal matter, an ordering of one's self by one's self.

The commonly accepted forms of discipline are exterior things. They

[1] Healy, William, The Practical Value of Scientific Study of Juvenile Delinquents. U. S. Children's Bureau, Publication No. 96, Washington, 1922, pp. 14–15.

[2] Dewey, John, Human Nature and Conduct. Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1922, pp. 2–3.

are sets of inhibitions—"Thou shalt not, for if you do, I'll do something else." The disciplined one has given over his will to another. He does no thinking, no willing. . . . He is weak and fearful, dependent and resourceless.

Real discipline is a growth of self. It consists mainly of doing. It is dynamic. It is initiated by the person concerned. The planning, the judging, the deciding, the doing are his. He is a responsible, self-directing, self-sustaining individual. He starts, he takes hold, he goes on to the end. He measures his work. He gains power for the next duty. He is truly self-disciplined. . . . Encourage self-discipline. The self-disciplined child becomes the self-disciplined man. Discipline means "do" much oftener than it means "don't."[1]

If there is to be real growth, young people must experiment. There must be some direction to this growth, especially in the case of girls in these schools, but it should be as free as possible. After a scientific study of the girl, there should be an opportunity for her to experiment. She will sometimes fail, but she needs to learn that she must take the natural consequences of what she does. If discipline is to make possible the greatest growth of the individual there must be one impulse to destroy another and one interest to replace another. Interesting work and varied activities will often cause the substitution of a normal, wholesome impulse for a socially undesirable one that has governed a girl in the past. This replacing of interests and developing of new impulses explain why a young sex delinquent may "find herself" through carrying responsibility for some work of the institution which appeals to her, whether it be cooking in a cottage kitchen, serving as one of the dairymaids, or acting as a play leader. The test of the correct project for the individual is whether it contributes to her growth and helps her in the process of adjustment.

Not More License but Wiser Direction. Critics of this newer conception of discipline often misunderstand its real basis. Their criticism indicates that they believe the child is to be permitted to do whatever she wishes. On the contrary, she is to have not more license, but to learn better self-control, to have more freedom under better leadership. Every effort is made to secure a child's understanding and co-operation, but she is not without some

[1] Child Training. D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1922, pp. 250–251.

direction. In reality, some of the exponents of these newer theories regarding discipline would be perhaps more, rather than less, "strict" with children but this strictness would be based on understanding. In such schools as the School for Organic Education, Fairhope, Alabama, or the Merrill-Palmer School, Detroit, Michigan, while the children do not act from fear of punishment, conduct that promotes the good of the group as well as the child's own well-being is absolutely insisted upon.

Proper Attitude Vital. Another underlying idea which should be noted is that discipline should not draw attention primarily to the form which it takes. In other words, we should keep before the child the goal desired, and she should understand that all training and discipline are planned with that end in view. This speaks for itself as to the severity of punishment and the need of its being of a type which is never humiliating or conducive to loss of self-respect. Where very strict measures seem absolutely necessary to meet an emergency, it is not so much a question of what the matron or superintendent does, as her attitude toward the child while she is doing it. If it is felt that an emotionally disturbed girl should be alone for a time in order to regain her self-control, she should be placed in isolation by a matron in whom there is no anger or resentment. The strictest measure may be carried out if a child feels that she has been treated justly and fairly. In the final analysis most of these questions resolve themselves into the relationship between the person disciplining and the child disciplined. This person must have great human understanding, have a scientific attitude toward problems of conduct, be able to see all sides of a situation, and, above all, her fairness must be beyond question. What is needed in a training school is a group of workers who are specialists in "human nature and conduct." We realize that such people are very difficult to secure, and, in fact, the wise use of such knowledge constitutes a rare art.

Constructive Discipline

With these underlying ideas in mind it is of interest to note the conditions found in respect to constructive and corrective discipline in the schools studied. Almost all the superintendents stated that they approved constructive discipline, but many added that

"some correction is also a necessity in meeting actual situations." The types of constructive discipline of which these superintendents were thinking varied greatly; also the extent to which they favored their use. In all the better institutions some forms of constructive discipline are employed, but in all some types of discipline are also primarily corrective. In a few schools we found old-fashioned, even penal measures, based on ignorance and fear; while in a very small number we felt that the point of view was almost wholly that of punishing the transgressor rather than of providing direction and training for girls presenting conduct problems.

Student Government. Student government, or self-government, is one form of constructive discipline found in these schools. There are critics who say that genuine student government does not exist in any institution for juvenile delinquents, but they misunderstand the scope and purpose of such a project. As found in these girls' schools student government does not mean giving over the reins of government to these inexperienced girls; it does mean active, organized, directed participation by them in the school management. In true self-government the pupils themselves carry some definite responsibility for good government. In certain schools undoubtedly too much emphasis is placed upon strict courtroom procedure and the inflicting of penalties.

We have classified the forms in which student government is organized in these schools under two main headings: first a *formal* system with constitution and by-laws, elected student officers exercising considerable power, formal meetings, and hearings for offenders; second, an *informal* system where there is genuine student participation, but a minimum of organization and restricted powers for the student officers.

Although the exact form of the organization differs somewhat in each school, it is generally patterned after a municipal government. Often there is a girl mayor, judge, clerk, or health commissioner elected by the student members or citizens. Commonly, all the student officers in a cottage constitute the "council" before which a girl is brought for misconduct. Sometimes these council meetings are attended by a member of the school staff who has the title of director of student government, by the psychologist, or by the cottage mother.

Pageantry as a Means of Constructive Discipline

For the purposes of this discussion we consider that schools with no definite organization (either formal or informal) for student participation do not have student government. In additional schools where there is no student government there may be, of course, much self-expression and real co-operation between student body and faculty.

Sleighton Farm, Pennsylvania, is generally recognized as the pioneer and the most influential example of this movement in the girls' training schools. It is said to have been the first of them to establish a well-organized system. It was originated and developed by Mrs. Martha P. Falconer during the twelve years of her superintendency, and has been continued by her successor. Many workers who have gone from Sleighton Farm to become superintendents of training schools elsewhere have taken the idea with them. Student government in the following schools can be traced to this source: Long Lane Farm, Connecticut; Georgia Training School for Girls; Chicago Home for Girls; Tennessee Vocational School for Girls; Harris County School for Girls, Texas; and Samarcand Manor, North Carolina. A good deal of wisdom has been displayed in their development of the plan. They began slowly with a group of honor girls and permitted the project to develop gradually and normally.

Taking the girls' schools as a whole—in nine, we found formal organizations; in four, we found informal ones; in 44, none. It will thus be seen that in nearly one-fourth of these schools some form of student government exists. In a few where none now exists, superintendents have taken definite steps toward organizing it. The percentage of the population under formal student government, in schools having such a system, is shown on page 346.

The number of girls who are members of the student government organization in proportion to the total population of the training school varies from 100 per cent in two small county and municipal institutions to 43 per cent in a large state school. The two small schools are not "places of last resort" and hence do not have as many difficult cases as are found in state correctional institutions. In almost every institution having student government there are certain girls—generally those in the disciplinary cottage, newly admitted girls and girls returned from parole who are not members.

Name of School	Number of Girls in the Institution	Number of Girls under Student Government	Per Cent under Student Government
El Retiro, Calif.	40	40	100
Chicago Home for Girls, Ill.	56	56	100
State Industrial School for Girls, Okla.	138	130	94
Samarcand Manor, N. C.	215	160	74
Long Lane Farm, Conn.	187	123	66
Bexar County School for Girls, Texas	24	14	58
Georgia Training School for Girls	79	42	53
Harris County School for Girls, Texas	124	60	48
Sleighton Farm, Pa.	440	190	43
Total for nine schools	1,303	815	63

In the Chicago Home for Girls, there is a "city manager" form of student government with a girl manager for each of the three "cities" within this institution. Every girl is a member of one of these groups: city commissioners (student officers), citizens, unnaturalized citizens (new girls), or aliens (girls not in good standing).

At the Harris County School for Girls, Bellaire, Texas, the organization for older girls resembles a series of girls' clubs rather than a city government. A new girl earns her way through two preparatory groups before she is eligible for the "Circle." The circle officers include president, vice-president, secretary, chairman of house committee, receiving committee, yard committee, and recreation committee. Here, as at Long Lane Farm, Connecticut, there is a less formal "junior" organization for the younger girls.

At El Retiro, California, the organization at the time of our visit resembled that of a student association in a girls' boarding school. The student council consisted of president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, historian, student counsellor, and chaplain. As in some other schools, a girl took a definite pledge when she became a member of the student association.

In the State Industrial School for Girls at Tecumseh, Oklahoma, student government is organized about a group of "Big Sisters."

Each Big Sister, who enjoys special privileges and much freedom, has a "family" of girls for whom she has certain responsibilities.

In the Tennessee Vocational School for Girls there was at the time of our visit a minimum of student government organization, but much participation by the girls in the management of the school's affairs. This school probably affords the best example of informal student government which we found. Upon admission to the receiving cottage a girl immediately, without election, becomes a member of the student government organization. The presiding officer of the cottage was called the president. There were no other student officers in this cottage except the "Band" girls who returned from the honor cottage to help with the new girls. All girls in the receiving cottage come together frequently in a student government meeting to talk over matters of interest. The superintendent made what rules seemed necessary, but they were carefully explained and discussed at these meetings. In the honor cottage were two student officers—mayor and clerk. A weekly council meeting was held there, at which cases were heard. The girls felt that to a large degree they "decided the policies of the school," and they tried to see that these policies were carried out; they stated that they did not wish to decide punishments or penalties. A group of "Band" girls said to the writer: "Miss Smith [the superintendent] knows best what punishments will help different girls, and each girl needs to be handled differently."

The personal views of the superintendents of the 57 schools were secured concerning student government regardless of whether it was practiced in any form in their schools.

Opinion of Executive Officer	Number of Schools
In favor of formal student government	17
In favor of informal student government	8
Undecided or did not thoroughly understand	15
Definitely opposed	17
Total schools	57

Thus it is seen that 25 of the superintendents favored some form of organized student government, while as mentioned before, less

than one-fourth (only 13) were actually operating their schools with its assistance.

Miss Emily Morrison, superintendent of Sleighton Farm, where student government has been in operation for many years, believes thoroughly in the system. She thinks it develops (1) individual initiative, sense of honor and of responsibility; (2) group or civic consciousness, and promotes training for citizenship; (3) co-operation between pupils and those in authority, and more than anything else creates loyalty and a wholesome morale.

Dr. Kenosha Sessions, of the Indiana Girls' School, did not favor a formal organization of student government. She said: "Girls are sent here because they cannot control themselves; so they cannot control one another."

Miss Edith Kassing, superintendent of the Vocational School for Girls in Montana, saw "no advantage in a formal student government organization in a one-family cottage." She believed in it for a larger group but thought it could be carried "too far."

Mrs. Lucy Ball, of the State Training School for Girls of Illinois, wanted some participation by the students, and would like to try a formal organization of student government if she could secure "just the right person to direct it."

Miss Ethel Claxton, of the Harris County School for Girls at Bellaire, Texas, believed that "student government is the only form of government."

Miss Cynthia Embree, formerly superintendent of the Georgia Training School and now of the Chicago Home for Girls, would "not try to do the work without it."

Dr. Carrie Weaver Smith, at the time of our study superintendent of the Girls' Training School in Gainesville, Texas, where we found much freedom and many opportunities for self-expression, did not favor a formal system of student government. She wanted "small family units, where each child reacts normally as a child and not as a mayor or a judge."

Mrs. Fannie French Morse, of the New York State Training School for Girls, wrote as follows from her experience in three state schools and the institution in the District of Columbia for delinquent girls:

> No young person within or without an institution is ready for entire self-government. . . . Student government is unnecessary to the real character building that institutional training should represent. Keep discipline as much as possible in the background. Behavior should not be eternally stressed. . . . Let the girl forget herself and her behavior in *doing*. . . . If possible, define with each girl her future career, and, so far as is practicable, make her every-day doing be an approach to that career. Give every girl a pleasant, definite job and definite responsibility, and her behavior will care for itself.

In every institution having any form of self-government we were interested in securing the attitudes of the girls themselves toward it. A group of young citizens in the Georgia Training School for Girls agreed that student government "pulls up the girls and shows them their mistake in the right way." A student officer of the Harris County School for Girls (Bellaire, Texas) said that it "provides a goal and makes the girl ambitious." A number of pupils in the Chicago Home for Girls stated that "before student government was organized, we used to pull just for ourselves; now we pull together for the group." As a whole the girls take the decisions of the student government councils in the spirit in which they are given. One girl in a council meeting in the Tennessee Vocational School for Girls, when asked what she thought her own "punishment" should be, made this observation: "If I play while others work, I should work while they play."

Credit Systems. Some superintendents of schools that do not have student government consider that they have taken the first step toward it in establishing a credit system upon which is based a girl's length of training within the institution. In only one of the training schools now having formal organization of student government is there a credit system. Such a system may or may not be a real factor in constructive discipline; whether it is or not depends upon its nature and the spirit in which it is operated. In some instances, while the system is not sufficiently elastic, yet it is a definite improvement over the old plan employed in some institutions of having a uniform, understood period of care for each girl (one year, two years, and so forth); or no plan, in which case some girls were apparently forgotten. Certain superintendents believe that under a credit system a girl may earn all grades neces-

sary for parole and still not be ready to participate in community living, or, on the other hand, not having them, might benefit by an early outside placement under supervision. If a credit system is to be an asset in an institution, its organization should be such that each case can be handled individually.

In one-third (19 of 57) of the schools there is a system of earning credits or "training grades," upon which parole depends. Four additional schools have a demerit system. The credit system used in the Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls is similar to that found in various correctional institutions. Here a girl who has an "absolutely clear record" is given 100 "merit points" a month. When she has earned 2,400 merits, parole is considered. In the State Industrial Home for Girls at Chillicothe, Missouri, a girl earns one merit for each day's "perfect record." Thirty merits give a girl one credit, and 30 credits make her eligible for parole. She is given additional credits for each three months' perfect record, for unusually hard work, and for good effort. In some institutions a "perfect record" means not breaking any of the rules and not being "reported for discipline."

In the Virginia Home and Industrial School for Girls at Bon Air, a girl earns her way through three grades (A, B, C,) before she is eligible for parole. Her advance from grade to grade depends upon her earning and retaining mills. A girl may earn 10 mills a day as follows:

	Number of Mills
Deportment	5
Education and work	3
Care of clothes	1
Care of person	1
Total mills	10

An offense is punished by "marking," which means the taking away of mills. "Meritorious conduct" may be rewarded by the superintendent by gifts of mills.

In the Florida Industrial School for Girls at Ocala, pupils do not earn credits, but receive demerits for certain offenses. For example, a girl received 10 demerits "each time it is necessary to

lock her in the detention room." She cannot be paroled until she has worked off her demerits. The superintendent sends a monthly report of each girl to her parents, her nearest relatives, or in some cases to a probation officer.

In the Indiana school the pupils secure their parole by earning "training grades." Each new girl is impressed with the fact that she "must finish her course of training" before she can leave the institution. In a cottage a girl begins with upstairs work; then passes to the laundry, and then to the kitchen. The length of time she remains in each department depends "equally upon efficiency and conduct." Before leaving a department she must "have the habit of doing the work well." Definite grades are recorded on cards. With these training grades come certain privileges in the institution. A girl may be kept until she is twenty years old, if necessary, to finish her training.

In the Arkansas Training School for Girls each pupil, new or old, earns one credit a week—if she presents no serious conduct problem. The superintendent explained that she wanted her girls to feel that the officers *desired* them to make their credits, which are not withheld without very good reasons. She emphasized the fact that in this school no credits once earned are ever taken away. The right to earn additional credits may be suspended for a time, but the stars a girl has earned by good conduct she always keeps. Only "persistent, serious infractions" cause her to lose the privilege of earning credits. A girl may be paroled after she has achieved a good report for 48 successive weeks.

In the small new state school at Albuquerque, New Mexico, a pupil may earn 330 credits in one month for good conduct, and an additional 100 credits a month for what the superintendent has designated as "positive goodness." This includes kind acts to others, thoughtfulness, unselfishness, good spirit, and so forth. The superintendent believes that more emphasis should be placed on definitely good conduct and less on the avoidance of misconduct. A girl here may lose credits for very serious infractions but not for "petty things," which are met in other ways.

Superintendents who use a credit system are practically unanimous in believing that it is helpful, that it supplies an incentive, and defines a goal to be reached. They approve such a system,

although in a number of cases they are not satisfied with the details of the one they have and hope to make improvements.

Wage System. In a few institutions a wage system operates as one means of constructive discipline; two state schools were using such a system for all pupils. In the Home School for Girls, Sauk Center, Minnesota, at the time of our visit, all girls except the very youngest earned "toy money," out of which they purchased their own clothing and personal articles at the school's store. Each article was marked at the current market price. While the girls were supervised in their buying, the development and expression of their individual taste was definitely encouraged. An officer taught them values, how to buy to advantage, and true principles of economy.

In the Texas Girls' Training School, one of the smaller state schools, each girl at the time of our study earned toy money, out of which she paid for her board and room in the institution as well as for what she bought in the school's store. Grade of work and conduct together determined the amount of her "wages." As she improved, these advanced. The rate she paid for board and room depended upon the cottage in which she lived. A charge account was opened for a new girl which she used until she had earned some money. Each was required to have a bank account for her toy money in the school's bank. She was taught to keep a check book correctly and to balance her own accounts. If she lost her stubs she might lose her bank balance. When a girl was paroled from the school, if she had won Grade A record, she received 25 cents in real money for every toy dollar she had saved; if she had a lower grade the amount she received was in proportion. Such a system, of course, involves much work on the part of some officer or officers. At the time of our visit the bookkeeping in the Texas school was done by one of the academic teachers. Dr. Carrie Weaver Smith, superintendent of this school, considered that a wage system was of great value in constructive discipline; that it reduced the dangers of institutionalism; and that it taught the girls that food and clothes do not just "happen" or drop down as gifts, but must be earned. Each girl was thus forced to stand on her own feet.

On the other hand, there are progressive superintendents op-

posed to a wage system. Miss Caroline de F. Penniman, of Long Lane Farm, Connecticut, said that, "the wage system teaches the principle 'all for self'; while student government teaches 'all for the community.'" Mrs. Janie Porter Barrett, of the Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls, was opposed to "giving money for good conduct or for help in the work of the institution."

Some of the schools that do not have a wage system operate a store within the institution where the girls may purchase personal articles. Money is obtained for this purpose from special work done for some officer, or it may be given a girl by a visitor, or sent her from home. An effort is generally made to enable all girls of good standing in the school to make purchases occasionally. The schools at Middletown, Connecticut; Delaware, Ohio; Darlington, Pennsylvania; and Chicago, Illinois, are among those which have a store for the girls. At Christmas time these stores are especially popular.

Creative Work. In all the better schools the great value of creative work is recognized. If there are to be healing powers in this work and if it is to supply an outlet for a girl's energies, she must be interested in it and feel that what she is doing is of value to herself or to the school. Since almost all superintendents of country institutions believe that contact with the soil has great therapeutic value for these girls, we found them working in the flower beds, the vegetable gardens, and in dairy and poultry departments. In the state school in Ohio the girls, with very little assistance, built a rest cabin of logs. At Sauk Center, Minnesota, they did most of the work on several frame bungalows for the mother and baby colony. The superintendent stated that they took as much interest and satisfaction in seeing the buildings grow under their hands as does the skilled artisan. The girls felt that they were making a real contribution to the institution.

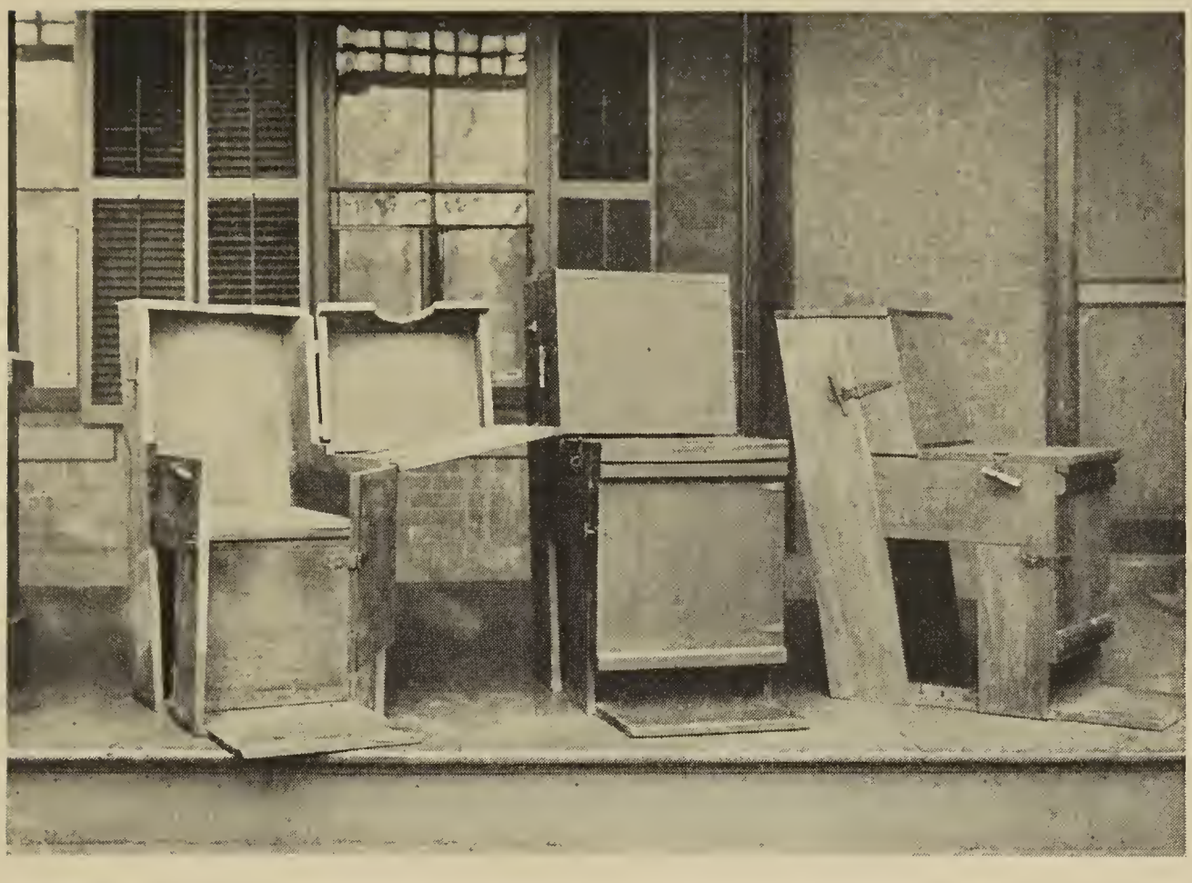
Additional Constructive Aids. Additional aids in constructive discipline which are of great importance will not be discussed here because they are considered in other chapters. Among these aids are girls' clubs and organizations, student activities, the general recreational program, therapeutic value of music, and the providing of attractive clothes for the girls. In some schools the desirable effect of giving a child a pet for which she is responsible has been

demonstrated. Nature study, too, is a force in constructive discipline. Outside community contacts for the girls, which may bear close relationship to the program of constructive discipline, will be taken up in the following chapter, Community Aspects of Institutional Life.

Corrective Discipline

Deprivations. Though the present trend, without a doubt, is toward the use of a maximum amount of constructive discipline and only a minimum of corrective measures, the superintendents consider that an institution for delinquents cannot be operated without some corrective discipline. Cases are cited where one girl without such corrective measures would have disturbed a large group. We found some corrective measures in all the 57 institutions. The most common form is some type of deprivation, as the "removal of privileges." In varying degrees this was in use at the time of our study in all except two schools. In these there were practically no privileges which could have been withdrawn. Among the privileges often withdrawn are letter-writing; receiving mail and visitors; attendance at motion pictures, dances, and parties. This form of corrective discipline may sometimes be necessary and have value, but one form we do not favor is withdrawing all opportunities for outdoor exercise. Only where a girl must be isolated in a room should this be permitted, and as soon as she has even partial control of herself she should be taken by an officer for daily outdoor exercise. Some schools classify attendance at church and academic school as "privileges" to be refused for misconduct. It would seem to us shortsighted to withhold religious education, attendance at school, or all recreation on account of mild infractions, since they may be powerful factors in the process of helping the girl to find herself. These should be considered part of her treatment, not privileges.

One form of deprivation that should never be adopted is the withholding of food. A girl confined in a punishment room may need a somewhat lighter diet for health reasons, but the amount or nature of her food should not be thought of as connected with punishment. Food is a health question, and we should no more associate it with discipline than the opportunity to take a bath



Stocks Actually Used in One State School Fifteen Years Ago

Modern Constructive Discipline in That School Today

or to receive good medical attention. There is no logical connection which one could ever explain to a child between misconduct and refusing her a meal. And most of these children need all the food that is to be given them. A well-fed child will benefit more from therapeutic measures and be more responsive to constructive discipline than a hungry one.

Social Isolation. Another form of corrective discipline closely related to the removal of privileges is "social isolation." In numerous institutions some girls displaying antisocial reactions are not physically isolated, but are deprived of companionship with others. A number of superintendents believe that if a girl seriously offends the group, she should not be given the privilege of friendly relations with it until her attitude and ideas have changed. If care is taken so that she does not feel that she is completely ostracized but has only temporarily forfeited the right to the pleasure of group companionship, the results may be beneficial in some cases.

Rewards. Rewards for good conduct are given in 53 of the 57 schools. Certain superintendents stated that while they do not approve a system of rewards for which girls work, they often give unexpected privileges to girls who display good spirit, make special effort, or do unusually good work. Care should be taken that the reward does not displace other incentives; certainly we do not wish a girl to strive primarily to gain gold stars. The receiving of a reward should be thought of merely as a recognition of effort or of something well done.

Solitary Confinement. Unquestionably, in these correctional schools, as has already been indicated, there are likely to be some girls who must at times be alone until they can regain their self-control. A girl who is breaking everything she can touch, tearing off her clothing, screaming, and using vulgar language can do much harm to a group which is easily influenced and excitable; and her confinement may be thought of really not as punishment but as a means of helping her to gain self-control. In 45 of the 57 institutions, solitary confinement or isolation is practiced in special instances. Often a girl's own room is used, or she is placed in a special "disciplinary room" which differs from hers only by having the window protected and a stronger door. In some schools

the superintendents find that at the end of a few hours or a couple of days at most, the girl is ready to resume her place in the cottage group. In about one-third of the institutions where there is some solitary confinement, segregated girls are given books to read or materials to sew. In approximately one-fourth they are brought outside their rooms to do some work as soon as they have partially gained control of themselves. This employment may be in the laundry, in the sewing room, cleaning halls, or outdoors in the fields.

In a few of these institutions, there still exist remnants of the antiquated idea that these schools are "children's prisons," or at least "reformatories," where "strict discipline" (meaning punishment and corrective measures) is the prime need. In one state institution, where there is considerable repression, the superintendent told us that the girls were "transgressors," and that the first need was to teach them "that there must be law and government." A matron spoke of her cottage as the "home of the incorrigibles," and remarked that the "immoral girls" lived in the other cottages. An unhappy aspect of this classification was that the girls themselves understood and spoke of it.

In 15 of the 57 schools there are special "disciplinary cottages" or "demoted divisions," where groups of particularly difficult girls live together under many restrictions for several months consecutively. Nine of the 57 had prison-like steel cells or strong wooden cages, generally situated in attics or basements; in one institution we found a padded cell. The writer cannot state too strongly that cells and cages have no place in a modern training school; nothing should create the atmosphere of a jail or prison. The following statement gives a summary of conditions found in respect to solitary confinement:

Type of Confinement	Number of Schools
In demoted division or special disciplinary cottage	15
In own rooms	24
In special rooms	32
In cells or cages	9

In some instances the same school may employ different types of isolation; for example, one possessing a cell may also confine girls in their own rooms or in punishment rooms.

Other Corrective Measures. Other forms of corrective discipline and punishment found in these institutions include the wearing of special dresses or insignia of punishment. For example, returned runaways are sometimes clothed in red, and in one school a girl being disciplined wears a yellow stripe down the back of her blue uniform. In a number of institutions hard work is given as punishment, the idea being not at all that of using work for its therapeutic value. In a few isolated cases, girls are forced to "stand on line," and in many a girl or a group is sometimes "placed on silence" for breaking rules or for general poor conduct. In an appreciable number no conversation is permitted during working hours or during meals. In a few cases we found such measures as the washing out of a girl's mouth with disagreeable medicine, the shaving of her head, tying her up, or other means of physical restraint, and the use of so-called "water-cures." In only four institutions were we sure that handcuffs were used, and in only one school were we certain that a strait-jacket was employed. Forms of physical restraint would seem to us never to be justified except for the girl's own preservation. Their use even then may indicate that she is beyond the help of a training school and should be sent to a different type of institution. Most of these forms of corrective discipline can be criticized more for their futility and entire lack of value than for their cruelty. A school that has to depend to any large degree on such methods generally is in charge of people who are not able to provide the kind of program and treatment needed if these girls are ever to be returned to their communities as well-balanced, adjusted individuals.

Whipping. There is some whipping in 38 of the 57 schools. In six we were assured that it was used for the "youngest girls only"; and in 25 that it occurred "infrequently." In 13 we believed that whipping was used with sufficient frequency to be considered a regular form of punishment. It should be remembered that most of these girls are from fourteen to sixteen years of age. Fourteen of the 54 superintendents stated that they were definitely opposed to whipping in any form; seven others that they did not consider it of any real value as a disciplinary measure, but that as a last resort they sometimes used it. The general situation in respect to whipping is shown on page 358.

Whipping as Punishment	Number of Schools
A regular form	13
Infrequently used	25
Never has been used but "may be if necessary"	3
No whipping	16
Total schools	57

Whipping Administered by	Number of Schools
Superintendent or assistant superintendent	22
Superintendent or others by her authority	12
Other officers on staff, without authorization	3
Older girl in superintendent's presence	1
Total schools where whipping is administered	38

Written record required in 10 schools
No record required in 28 schools

If whipping is ever to be used as a form of discipline in schools for girls, it should certainly be administered only by the superintendent or by someone designated by her, and a written record should be kept.

There are many differences of opinion regarding the value of and justification for whipping, not only for an adolescent, delinquent girl, but for any child. Dr. Louis E. Bisch, a specialist in mental disorders, in writing on the subject of punishment in the monthly publication of the North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, expresses his opinion as follows:

> But above all else childhood must be respected. We must give them all the leeway we can so that they can express themselves to the fullest possible extent. Only, indeed, should punishment be resorted to if misbehavior tends, directly or indirectly, to run counter to respect for the rights, privileges, and feelings of others.
>
> Never should we punish hastily or arbitrarily or because we are annoyed. And never, never, never, should we punish while in anger. A show of unquestioned authority, or superior strength, . . . without recourse to appeal, makes a child resentful, vindictive, and revengeful. . . .
>
> Corporal punishment is a thing of the past. Even the time-honored switch and spanking are obsolete. An occasional spanking may not hurt

a vigorous but refractory lad, yet even here there are dangers. Many nervous disorders in adults can be traced back to corporal punishment in childhood. It's never a safe method to employ.[1]

Judge Charles W. Hoffman, of Cincinnati, Ohio, who is one of the most progressive juvenile court judges in the country, is quoted in a newspaper interview as stating:

> To enforce discipline even in the home or school by the infliction of physical pain requires the greatest discrimination and care. The instances in which it can be shown to be necessary are rare. Spanking or paddling are the most dangerous of all disciplinary measures, and when applied in the cases of delinquent, adolescent girls are the most cruel, futile and ineffective measures that ignorance, vindictiveness, and hate can devise.[2]

Our general conclusion regarding the various forms of corrective discipline and punishment is that corrective measures alone are futile. As we have already indicated, the important question is not so much whether a particular child is ever whipped as what constructive forces in character development are in operation continuously for the entire group. Institutions providing a full, varied and interesting program for all girls in care will have the least difficulty with problems of discipline. Where there is a scientific attitude toward the whole program and individualized study and treatment of each pupil, discipline ceases to occupy the center of the stage.

This whole question of behavior is a very timely one. A few years ago a large group of educators, physicians, psychiatrists, and social workers met in our national capital to consider conduct problems of children. The meeting was held in conjunction with the annual session of the National Education Association. Among the topics discussed were the Understanding of Behavior Problems, and The School and the Delinquent Child. A committee was named by the National Conference of Social Work to confer further on this subject with a similar committee of the National Education Association. It is hopeful when specialists in various groups try to apply their knowledge to this exceedingly difficult problem.

[1] Public Welfare Progress, April, 1924, Raleigh, N. Car., p. 4.

[2] Cincinnati Times-Star, Jan. 14, 1924.

PART IV

COMMUNITY ASPECTS OF HER CARE AND PAROLE

CHAPTER XX

COMMUNITY ASPECTS OF INSTITUTIONAL LIFE

WE HEAR much of the "institutionalized child." The child thus referred to is generally lacking in individuality, personality, resourcefulness, initiative, and ambition. He is a "washed-out" kind of individual and like all other children in the group. Unfortunately, this negative personality is often found in children who have lived in institutions, but the most progressive schools are today demonstrating the fact that to a large degree institutionalism can be avoided. How this can be accomplished and what means are now in use in these training schools for girls constitute the bases of our discussion in this chapter.

A major purpose of these schools is to train girls for community life, and in order to do this the girls must in some way experience and participate in community living while they are still residents of the school. It was formerly thought by many, and is still held to be true by some, that this is possible only for certain groups of children in certain types of institutions. We grant that it is much easier for some other types of institutions than correctional schools to carry out successfully a community form of organization within the institution and to provide contacts with outside communities. As a matter of fact, however, many children in institutions for dependents present some of the same types of behavior problems found in these training schools, only not so intensified nor so general. It has also been demonstrated that both community life within the institution and outside contacts for these girls, with whom community forces have previously failed, can be successfully carried on by skilled workers on the institution's staff.

Any consideration of community aspects of institutional life necessarily includes at least three main forms which these aspects may assume. First, an attempt may be made to cause the life of

the girls within the institution proper to approximate as nearly as possible that of an organized community. Second, one may bring outside community contacts to the institution. Third, one may take the girls to the outside community. The first form may, or may not, include many outside community contacts for the girls living in the training schools. Some of these schools emphasize all three methods. A fourth plan would be to make institutional life an integral part of the life of an outside community. This has not yet been fully accomplished by any state school for delinquent girls, though some are working toward it.

Life within an Institution Approximating Community Life

When we speak of community life as contrasted with institutionalism with reference to a girls' training school, we mean the making of the life of these girls while they are still in the institution as nearly as possible like that of the average girl in the average family in the average town. The writer personally believes that it is practically impossible to break down all lines of demarcation, but there can be much closer approximation to community life than now exists in many institutions. While girls in a training school may receive superior physical care, greater understanding of their conduct difficulties, perhaps better educational advantages than in the homes or communities from which they came, the way in which we should endeavor to approximate institutional life to community life is through the relationships of the girls, to one another, and to the group. These girls while living in an institution should have experiences common to children in normal families in outside communities—experiences which are known to constitute a valuable part of their preparation for carrying the responsibilities and burdens of adult life in a community.

If for several years a girl lives in a wholly unnatural, artificially created environment, unlike anything she will meet later in life, when she leaves the training school she is not prepared to cope with the real problems confronting her. She becomes "institutionalized" and is not able to stand on her own feet when paroled.

Plant Planned on This Idea. If a training school wishes to provide a life which approximates that of an outside community, some of the questions which naturally arise are concerned with

the physical plant. While these are not the most important considerations, they are tangible and more easily understood; hence they often receive first consideration. To approximate community life, the entire plant should be planned with this end in view. Instead of rows of institutional buildings there may be, for example, a community center about which the various cottages and buildings are grouped, and which is, in fact, the heart of the institution-community life, or there may be a "village street" which approximates the main thoroughfare of a small town. Along this may be the school building, the church, gymnasium, store for the girls, and the administration building. The cottages may be some little distance away, sufficiently separated so that each house may have ample space about it. In very large schools there might well be different community groups within one institution. Each little group would constitute a neighborhood or village. This decentralization is a helpful factor in the classification of the girls as well as a valuable aid in approximating community life. These groups might well engage in separate industries, activities, and amusements, and the girls from all assemble for school and church. Examples of such developments may be found among the better institutions for children.

In the Home School for Girls at Sauk Center, Minnesota, a community building is the true center of the life of the school. Facing a circular, connecting driveway are located the administration building, the hospital, the chapel, and so forth. The cottages are grouped on the outskirts and some are a considerable distance away. At Sleighton Farm, Pennsylvania, there is a village street, so spoken of by the girls. It connects various buildings and forms the avenue down which the girls parade during their county fairs and Fourth of July celebrations. In both these institutions some decentralization exists. In Sauk Center a mother and baby colony is situated a mile or so away from the rest of the institution. Sleighton Farm has a special cottage for backward and mentally deficient girls about a half-mile away with its own school, its own industries, and largely its own social life.

While this type of decentralization is possible and desirable in large institutions, the aim should be to keep the school from becoming too large. The ideal should be not to develop a large

number of villages or neighborhoods within an institution, if it is possible to keep the size down to one such village or community. In this day of better standards in our juvenile courts and child protective agencies, we should aim to send fewer girls to training schools, rather than to build monumental institutions. In a very small institution, the plant can still be an aid to approximating community living.

First, there should be small (ideally, very small) cottages, much like the homes of substantial, middle-class families in an average community. Unusually expensive, elaborate buildings are not to be desired. The cottages should be attractive and homelike. A living room or playroom should constitute the center of home life in the cottage. While neither the floors nor the furnishings should be of such quality that thought of their proper care will always be uppermost, they should be of substantial materials which will survive ordinary usage. Everything should be usable and be used. Though it may cost a little more in the beginning, the living rooms of the various cottages should be equipped differently and officers and girls should be consulted about new furnishings which should be attractive and of harmonious coloring and design. Each girl should have her own sleeping room, which will become her own "castle"; she should be permitted to arrange and rearrange its furniture to her heart's content. She should have her own decorations, even if they do not appeal to cottage officers, and should be encouraged to make her own curtains and draperies, following her own ideas as to design and color.

There should be an effort to have these cottages, both outside and inside, somewhat individualized. While presenting a harmonious picture, building lines may differ and the parts painted may be in several colors. There is no reason, for example, why every cottage on the grounds of an institution need have yellow trimmings. In a town, the home of a neighbor on one side has white trimmings and one on the other side green. All these seemingly small items help to create the impression in the physical plant itself of a community as versus an institution.

Of more importance than the laying out of the plant or the planning of the individual buildings, is, of course, the home life within the family group. Just as an outside village is made up of a number of separate family units, each with much independence,

so an institution-community should be composed of cottage units with each family carrying as much responsibility as possible. It is undoubtedly more difficult and requires more ability, patience, and imagination on the part of those in charge, to operate an institution under such a plan than under the old centralized régime. It is much easier to send out written rules governing the routine in all cottages than to meet the situations which may arise when each cottage unit is more independent. As the superintendent of one training school said, "There is no more reason why all the girls in all the cottages should get up in the morning at the same moment than that all families in a community should rise at the sound of a bell at seven o'clock." In so far as possible each family group should work out its own salvation, subject, of course, to the general approval of the superintendent. Such a plan means that there must be just the right kind of cottage matron in charge of each group.

These girls need real mothering, and the best place to receive it is in the cottage family. This does not mean effusive sentimentality, but simply that they have one person who they feel takes a personal interest in everything that concerns them and upon whom they realize they can always depend, no matter what the emergency. In a couple of institutions we found that girls and officers all spoke of the superintendent as "mother." This is not to be encouraged. There should be no pretense that the relationships are other than what in fact they are. No cottage matron should pretend to be what she is not. She should try, however, in every possible way to make up to each girl what she is missing in not being in her own home with a mother of the best type.

Each girl should bear some definite responsibility for the welfare of the cottage-family and should share all its common interests. Most of the housework is done by them under supervision; in a good many cases, however, their participation in cottage life stops with their assistance in the work. It should be a matter of concern to the entire cottage family, for example, whether a certain girl makes her grade in school or another wins the banner for having the best garden. In our more progressive schools, through the use of student government, this sharing of responsibility is being partially at least, worked out.

One great lack in many institutions and one cause for the existence of "institutionalized children" is the lack of economic experience of the children. We have already spoken of the use of toy money in a couple of schools where girls must earn their clothing and in one case their board and room. In our opinion, the ideal would be for each cottage to be placed on a budget. The cottage mother should call her group of girls into consultation on how costs may be reduced in one respect, in order to have additional funds for something desired in another direction. New books, new victrola records, new pictures should not just appear. There should be planning as to when the school and the cottage can afford these things. The girls should know what food and clothing cost, and realize that the money for each expenditure represents someone's labor. If the institution is supported by public taxation the girls can understand that the labor of all citizens makes possible that which they enjoy.

Miss Marietta Smith, at the time of our visit superintendent of the Tennessee Vocational School for Girls, states her position on this matter as follows:

> When we have built properly on a good site, equipped everything, received the girl, examined her, recorded our findings, trained her in special and general lines, made her clean, obedient, and fairly truthful; then we have left a large field untouched unless we have increased her sense of responsibility. We are liable to . . . take away from her power to plan one single thing for herself, ask her to eat the food we choose, wear the clothes we provide, rise in the morning when we tell her to, in fact make a complete program for her day. We say in effect, "Now, you fell down on thinking for yourself, and we are going to relieve you of that task while you are here. All we ask of you is to do as you are told. . . ." When her term is over we say "There now, you have been fed and clothed by the state and we have done your thinking for you, go out and feed and clothe yourself and think for yourself likewise." That's just where the awful bungle comes in. We teach her to think about everything, but the thing she failed to think straight about—meeting her responsibilities. Then she goes out and it is so long since she has handled money or been to ordinary amusements or mingled with people that she not only falls down, but she falls all over herself. Why not put the question of finance right up to her? Budget the school in class work. Take her into partnership with the state. Explain how the money comes that is used for her

care. Tell her how much there is of it. Outline for her what can be paid for different things for her or for the cottage. Seek her co-operation in preserving state property just as if it were her own. Put a few girls on a committee to watch the water bill of the cottage, the electric light bill, the shoe bill, the food bill and you may be sure they will get after things. . . . I believe that we would secure not only their interest, but we would increase their sense of responsibility and of values.[1]

This superintendent has tried to put into practice what she advocates. In her school there was at the time of our visit a girl chairman for each of the following committees: yard, road, tools, house, light, water, laundry, and kitchen. Each chairman chose other girls to assist her. For example, if the chairman of the Road Committee discovered after a heavy rain that places in the cinder road needed filling in, she secured on her own initiative several girls to help her mend this road. At the student meetings the superintendent talked over with the girls matters of general information on which she felt they should be informed. In our talks with many of these girls we found that they knew exactly how much it costs per capita to train pupils in this school.

Bringing Outside Community to the Institution

So far, we have been discussing the making of life in the institution approximate as nearly as possible that of the normal family in the average outside community. As we have said, this may or may not include contacts for the girls with an outside community. To bring the community to the institution, by which we mean the encouragement of interest and participation on the part of the public in its activities, may not be so worth while as to take the girls to the community; yet this effort should be made. It is possible to do this even when only a short distance has been traveled toward converting institutional life into community life. The attempt to bring the community to the institution involves close co-operation with outside agencies, the definite encouragement of visitors to the institution, obtaining outsiders to give entertainments, lectures, and to conduct church services, and the bringing in of young people to share amusements and recreational activities with these girls. This should not mean, however, that all recrea-

[1] "An Ideal Vocational School for Girls." In Tennessee Quarterly Bulletin of State Institutions, March, 1921, pp. 15–16.

tional projects should be turned over to others; the girls themselves should initiate most of them.

The outside contacts indicated above are often of very great importance in avoiding isolation for the school, and indeed are as valuable to the staff as to the pupils, since they help to keep more normal its outlook on life. Especially in schools where it is not possible, because of the location, to take any large number of girls at frequent or regular intervals to an outside community, visitors should be encouraged. Various institutions situated from 15 to 20 miles from a good-sized town have been able through this means to make excellent community contacts, and life for the school has been made more interesting, stimulating, varied, and more nearly normal. Sleighton Farm and Samarcand Manor are noteworthy examples.

As a result of our study of these 57 schools, we believe that visitors are definitely encouraged in at least 41 of them, nearly three-fourths. In only three did we feel that they are systematically discouraged. In the remaining schools the attitude of the administration is rather apathetic. In 35, nearly two-thirds, outside people come to conduct entertainments, chiefly musical and theatrical, and to talk on different subjects.

Mrs. Janie Porter Barrett, superintendent of the Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls, at Peaks Turnout, has very decided ideas regarding the great value of outside contacts. Each year the neighbors are invited to the closing exercises at the school, at which an outdoor lunch is provided, and they mingle with the girls. Mrs. Barrett has a vision of some day having an institutional chapel at the edge of the grounds where others could worship as well as her pupils. Here she would have only the best music, and, whenever possible, preaching by well-known clergymen. She feels that service would not draw attendance from the little country church, for it would be held at a different hour and the service would be of quite a different type. At the time of our visit there was some money in view for this project.

In the Vocational School for Girls in Montana there is excellent co-operation from the clubs and organizations of Helena. One high school club of girls came out 60 strong for a party. The institution sent its trucks for them. School yells were exchanged between the visitors and the training school pupils. Each group

was responsible for a distinct part of the program. The principal of the city high school has promised to be the guardian of a girls' Camp Fire to be organized at the institution.

At El Retiro, California, at the time of our visit, the community was brought to the institution in many ways. The pupils gave amateur dramatics, field meets, and graduation exercises, which were attended by many outsiders. University students came to entertain them. Many El Retiro pupils attended an outside public school and were therefore in a position to know children, both boys and girls, whom they entertained at the institution.

The Harris County School for Girls at Bellaire, Texas, also provides many community contacts for its pupils. Such young people's church groups as the Christian Endeavor Society, including boys as well as girls, come from Houston to the school for parties. It should be remembered that the two last mentioned are county institutions caring for somewhat different types of girls from those found in most of our state training schools.

Taking the Institution to the Community

In addition to bringing the community to the institution, outside community contacts may be provided for the girls in a training school by taking them to the community. This may include sending some girls to a public school, to an outside church on Sunday, or to an outside class for vocational instruction. Occasional contacts may also be provided through attendance at motion pictures, theaters, lectures, recitals, community recreational gatherings, or through shopping expeditions.

This taking of the girls outside of an institution, in order that they may have actual contacts with a community, is exceedingly valuable but obviously needs to be safeguarded in the case of an institution caring for problem girls. It is probably not advisable for all to attend outside schools, churches, or vocational classes. Unfortunately the location of the schools may make it very difficult even to send some who could go, but the effort should be made. These pupils should not forget how to eat in a restaurant, nor how to conduct themselves in a store or theater. The taking of these girls out to a community is valuable preparation for parole. It is important that the officers, also, have some outside life. Every

worker in her free time should be encouraged to leave the grounds of the institution, if possible. She needs to get away from everything suggestive of her work. No doubt in some places this will be very difficult to accomplish. The following summarizing statement brings together in one place information previously recorded in different chapters regarding the sending of girls to outside schools and churches:

	Number of Schools
Some attend outside academic schools	8
Some attend outside prevocational classes	4
All attend outside churches	10
Part attend outside churches	15

There are nine schools which send some girls to outside academic or prevocational classes; and 25 which send part or all of their pupils to outside churches regularly or irregularly.

In 12 of the 57 schools, girls go outside to give entertainments; in 34 they attend community functions. Thirty-eight different schools are included in these two groups. There are 14 schools where the girls go outside for occasional shopping trips.

At the State Industrial Home for Girls in Adrian, Michigan, certain girls are permitted to go outside to church, motion picture shows, concerts, entertainments, the circus, county fairs, and so forth. Miss Frances Hubbell, the superintendent, hoped that in time some Adrian families would invite her honor girls to their own homes. Pupils of the Brooklyn Training School and Home for Young Girls attend outside church, high school, a domestic science class, plays, and entertainments. Members of the Home School for Girls at Sauk Center, Minnesota, have been invited to participate in the Fourth of July, Memorial Day, and other celebrations and exercises in Sauk Center. The plays and concerts given by the girls in the chapel of the school have later been given in the town. Bexar County School for Girls at San Antonio, Texas, has many community contacts. The Shriners' Lodge in San Antonio has invited the entire school to a minstrel show, and the Symphony Club to a concert. The Chamber of Commerce of Dallas, Texas, provided transportation for the girls of the State Training School to go into town for Chautauqua entertainments.

A Dallas newspaper gave transportation and tickets for them to attend the state fair.

Institutional Life an Integral Part of Community Life

Some superintendents go much farther than others in their desire to break down barriers between the institution and the community. A number are satisfied to make life within the training school as much as possible like that of a normal town or village, which may or may not include definite outside contacts for the girls. Others believe that it is essential to have people from neighboring localities come to the institution frequently but do not favor taking many of these girls themselves outside; others think that the only way a girl can be trained to re-enter community life is by maintaining these contacts through attending nearby schools and churches and by participation in community recreation and entertainments. Still a fourth group believes that there should be a definite effort to make the institution a real part of the community. This group may also approve and put into practice all the other three steps as means toward the final and complete breaking down of the wall between institution and community. If a training school were a real part of a community, it would be included in all plans of that place as much as would any boarding school located in its midst.

At the present time there are but three or four public training schools for delinquent girls in the United States which have largely broken down the barriers between the community and the institution. There are others, however, where definite steps have been taken in this direction. The opinions of the superintendents on this point may be summarized as follows:

Opinion of Executive Officer	Number of Schools
Possible to make institution part of community	17
Impossible to break down all barriers	35
Uncertain as to possibility	5
Total schools	57

It is an interesting fact that of the 35 superintendents who do not feel that it is possible to make institutional life, in the case of these delinquent girls, a real part of community life, 22 definitely desire

outside contacts for them. These latter encourage visitors and many wish the girls to go outside for some contacts, even though they believe that all barriers cannot be broken down.

In conclusion, we wish to emphasize again our strong belief that there can be close approximation to community living within the school and that institutionalism can be largely avoided. While the accomplishment of such an ideal requires special qualifications in the staff and much effort, we believe that the additional work entailed is thoroughly worth while. To this end a training school for girls should be so located as to make outside contacts possible for all who can enjoy them, and a staff in sympathy with this object should be employed. For practically all girls in a training school there can be contacts through the bringing in of people from the outside; for some girls there can be contacts through taking girls to the community.

As for making the life of a state training school an integral part of the life of the outside community, we believe that this can be only partially realized at the present time. The few schools which have most nearly reached this goal are small county institutions with types of girls in care somewhat different from those in the larger state schools. Moreover, the point of view and character of the neighborhood are important factors. What can and should be accomplished will depend somewhat upon the community near which a school is located.

If only girls presenting serious problems of delinquency are sent to the state institution, there may be fewer who can participate in this type of program. In other words, if all the girls in a state training school are ready to participate in the type of life which is really a part of the life of an outside community, one wonders why these girls were committed to a correctional institution, why they are not now living in the outside community. It would seem in cases like these the girls might be placed in highly specialized boarding homes with women able to give supervision and guidance to girls presenting conduct problems. Thus, while we wholeheartedly approve as many outside contacts for the girls as possible, we do not offer as a feasible plan the immediate breaking down of all lines of demarcation between the state institution for delinquent girls and the community.

CHAPTER XXI

PAROLE

WHAT is meant by the term "parole"? In an able paper entitled "Is Parole a Success?" by Henry A. Higgins, secretary of the Massachusetts Prison Association, which he delivered before the annual congress of the American Prison Association in Boston in 1923, he defined the word "parole" as "word of honor." Edith N. Burleigh, formerly superintendent of the Girls' Parole Department of the Massachusetts Training Schools, has offered this definition: "Parole is the process of re-education—the specific kind of community service through which the girl is reabsorbed into free community life."[1]

Because of the confusion existing in the minds of some, the terms "parole" and "probation" should be carefully distinguished. Definitions of probation include "Any proceeding designed to ascertain or test character, qualifications, attainments, or the like"; "examination, trial, as, admitted to church on probation"; "the period through which a trial or examination extends."

Flexner and Baldwin in their book, Juvenile Courts and Probation, distinguish between original ideas regarding probation and what is now meant by that term. They state:

> It [probation] grew originally out of the practice of suspending sentences in cases in which the defendants had been convicted, and imprisonment manifestly promised to be of little or no avail. The courts, instead of executing the sentence prescribed by law, had the right of indefinitely postponing it and releasing the defendants conditionally on good behavior. . . .
>
> It naturally followed that during this period of conditional release, the court could require some record of the conduct of the person so treated. Police authorities, parents, relatives, charity workers, or other persons, were requested to take an interest and report to the court the conduct and progress of the persons so released. The judge also required that those persons, children or adults, so released, should report to him.

[1] "Some Principles for Parole for Girls." In Proceedings of National Conference of Social Work, Chicago, 1918, pp. 147–148.

Out of this practice developed naturally the idea of appointing some person to give his or her whole time to the work, such a person to be paid out of public funds. . . . These officers were given the title of "probation officers" and the system of supervision of persons released after conviction has ever since been known as the "probation system."

The juvenile court views the probation system differently. Instead of construing it as the postponement of the execution of sentence after conviction, it is regarded under chancery procedure as a means of judicial guardianship—that is, a form of discipline and guidance on the part of the State, exercised over the child in his own home. Under the chancery idea in juvenile courts, children who have been adjudged delinquent, rather than convicted of an offense, are declared to be "in need of the care and guardianship of the State"; they become wards of the court, are put on probation and placed under the control of the State's representative—the probation officer.[1]

It is clear that probation deals with the girl before she is committed to an institution; parole deals with her after she has left the institution. A child on probation is generally living in her own home or in that of a relative and as a rule has not had the experience of life in a correctional institution; a child on parole has already had a period of training in an institution which cannot fail to have had some effect upon her. It is seen that the child on probation and the one on parole have quite different backgrounds. Probation is generally one of the first methods tried in handling children with delinquent tendencies. Parole is generally the last step taken after it has been necessary for them to remain for a period in a correctional institution. We found confusion between these terms, even in the minds of some superintendents of girls' training schools.

Changing Ideas as Basis of Parole

Just as there have been changing ideas behind probation, there have also been different points of view regarding the purpose and scope of parole. Mr. Higgins in the paper referred to earlier states:

The antecedent of parole was a complete sentence. The prisoner not only completed his sentence, but he endured usually a long sentence. All convicts were released alike on expiration of sentence. . . . The

[1] Flexner, Bernard, and Baldwin, Roger N., Juvenile Courts and Probation. Century Co., New York, 1916, pp. 79–80.

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best conduct and the most genuine resolution of reform offered no relief from punishment; and wickedness, evil outlook on life or the actual deliberation on crime could not add a day to the imprisonment. When the prisoner came out he was bitter with the memories of indifference to him and was satisfied that his sentence had wiped out his crime. He was under no obligation to anyone and he was free to move and act unobserved and unheeded. . . . Do you wonder, that destitute, uncared for and without supervision of any sort he lapsed again into crime? . . .

Thus we decided on the venture of parole. We undertook to pick the worthy from the unworthy. . . . Parole, you understand, means word of honor. So we made it possible to release a prisoner on his honor, on the pledge that he would not again commit crime. We took him out of the prison cell and surrounded him with the inhibiting force of a pledge solemnly and sincerely offered in return for a reduction of punishment. More than that, we found him employment, took a friendly interest in him and kept him under supervision. That was the manner in which parole came into practice. . . .[1]

Early methods of parole seem to have been patterned after police practice. In the minds of many of these early parole agents the chief obligation was to "watch" the person paroled to see whether "he made good." It was largely inspection rather than supervision or training, and often on the slightest provocation, whether he was an adult from a reformatory or prison, or a child from a state industrial school, he was immediately returned to the institution.

The newer point of view regarding parole is that it should constitute a continuation of the re-educative processes and of the treatment which have been started in the institution. Parole then ceases to have the earmarks of police activities, and assumes to a large degree the aspect of friendly visiting and supervision, similar to that carried on by other community social agencies. The chief duty of a parole agent is no longer to catch a girl in the act of wrong-doing and return her immediately to the training school, but to supervise and continue her training in such a way as to lessen the chances of her committing an antisocial act. Modern parole has become the connecting link between institutional life and unsupervised community living. Miss Burleigh and Miss Frances R. Harris thus summarize this change in point of view:

[1] Massachusetts Prison Association, Bulletin No. 68, Boston, 1923, pp. 2–3.

Parole, according to the old stereotyped idea, is watching a person who has been bad in the community to see that he is not bad again. Those who have the new vision of parole see a field limited only by the needs of the individual girl, in which opportunity is to be offered her to work out her own salvation in terms of self-development and service.[1]

Importance of Parole

With a parole system based on this newer conception, it is difficult to see how anyone can question the great importance of this phase of work with delinquent girls. Parole is one of the most important parts of the program of re-educating and readjusting girls with conduct problems. No training school program is complete without it. An adequate and well-planned parole system is essential for complete fulfilment of the true purposes of the training school. It is the writer's opinion that parole is the final test of the whole work of the training school. It is not worth while to provide within the institution highly trained specialists, a scientific program of diagnosis and treatment, and elaborate, expensive equipment, if girls are simply to be dropped back into community life with no help in getting a proper foothold there. A girl may be partly prepared for community living through community contacts which are maintained throughout her institutional life, such as we have discussed in the previous chapter, but the unalterable fact remains that these girls need careful direction and supervision during the period when they are adjusting themselves to living again in the outside community.

Types of Parole Provisions

Five of the 57 schools visited made no provision for parole. Of the other 52, the provision takes one of the following forms:

1. Is a part of the training school program with parole agents responsible to the superintendent.
2. Paroled girls referred back to committing courts for supervision.
3. A separate parole office, with a superintendent of parole on an equal footing with the superintendent of the institution.

[1] The Delinquent Girl. Studies in Social Work, Child Welfare Series, Monograph No. 3, New York School of Social Work, New York, 1923, p. 16.

4. A centralized type of parole with state agents serving various state institutions.
5. Parole carried on by state boards or departments (generally of public welfare).

Each of these plans has its supporters and its critics. It is claimed by many that parole should be a part of the comprehensive program of the institution and that therefore the parole agents should be responsible to the executive of the institution. They believe that since the whole purpose of the institution is to prepare the girl to re-enter community life, both the workers who do this and those who actually assist in her reabsorption into the community should be responsible to the same head; that a parole department within the institution offers great advantages in complete co-ordination and unity; that parole agents who spend considerable time at the institution, probably residing there for part of each week or month, are in a better position to understand the girl to be paroled than those who must make their first acquaintance with her as she leaves the institution.

A plan which has not won wide acceptance, but which is in use in a few schools, provides that a girl be returned for supervision to the court which committed her to the institution. It is based on the theory that the court which made the original investigation is in the best position to do the follow-up work after the girl leaves the institution; that closer supervision can be maintained by local courts than is possible through a centralized form of parole, especially when girls are returned to their own homes in inaccessible communities.

A theory which has created much interest and discussion is that parole should be carried on by an independent, outside department under the same board of trustees as the institution, with a superintendent of parole on the same footing as the superintendent of the institution. The one institution included in our study which has this type of parole is the Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster, Massachusetts, where the Girls' Parole Branch maintains offices in Boston. This plan has strong advocates, but also equally strong critics. Those in favor of it feel that parole is of such great importance that it should constitute a separate and equal department with the institution; that the head of a training

school with all her many other duties does not have time to supervise a parole staff, even if she has the special qualifications needed and has had the proper training; that there is a great advantage in having the girl start fresh with new counsellors with whom she has not been living in the institution. They believe that parole work should have the undivided attention of the parole officers who should not be involved in other problems of the institution; that people who themselves are living normal lives in the community can best help these girls in the process of readjustment to community living. Behind this plan lies the theory that immediately after a girl leaves an institution there should be a definite break; she should put behind her everything connected with her past delinquency—the court, probation, and the institution; that she should not "fly back" to the institution whenever she is in difficulty outside. Some exponents of this idea even go so far as to criticize an institution for making itself a home center for a girl because, so they claim, she is thus prevented from forming, or at least is not encouraged to form, normal ties outside. She must learn to stand on her own feet. Miss Burleigh, who is the most outstanding exponent of the separate parole plan, says: "The stimulating mental effect upon the girl of marking her forward progress by this separation of institution and parole is evident, because it offers her a new allegiance, a new loyalty, new influences, a chance to begin all over again with new people and under entirely new conditions, where old failures need not be recalled."[1]

A fourth provision for parole which has some supporters is a centralized department of state parole agents. This generally means the supervision on parole of persons from all the state institutions by the same parole agents. In practice we found these agents to be generally men. They supervise adult men and women, boys, and girls. The problems involved are very diversified, including those of delinquencies of varying degrees and defectiveness of different types. The one argument emphasized above any other by advocates of this plan is that "it saves money." It is said that traveling expenses are reduced because the trip of a state parole agent to one community may serve various state institutions.

[1] "Some Principles for Parole for Girls."

The fifth type of parole provision, supervision by a state board or department of public welfare, is generally a makeshift. In these cases, the institution has no parole agents on its staff and no well-worked-out parole plan. If any parole work is to be done, it turns in desperation to the state board of public welfare, asking the board to do what it can with the girls on parole. There may be occasional visits by agents of the board itself, or by its local representatives in the communities of the state.

We have purposely cited the advantages that advocates give for the various plans. Many of the criticisms against certain forms are implied in the arguments in favor of the others. The form of parole supervision best adapted to an institution or a state should be determined after careful study of the particular situation. As a result of our study of these girls' training schools, however, we have formed certain general opinions. To us the most unsatisfactory plan is that of centralized state parole agents unless material changes can be made in present practices. Obviously only women should supervise girls on parole from a state training school for delinquents. No one person can possibly have the knowledge or background necessary to supervise adequately all kinds of problem cases from the various state institutions. A parole agent for a girls' training school must know the particular problems involved in this type of work and understand the individual girl with whom she is dealing.

Another system which to us appears to have few advantages and many disadvantages is the return of a child to the court for supervision by officers of the court. The court certainly has enough problems to handle without this added burden. Probation officers are often unable to give half as much time as they wish to investigation and supervision of cases on probation. To add parole to their duties would mean that in many cases none of this work would be well done. The writer feels that there is also a disadvantage, after a girl leaves a training school and is making a fresh start in the community, in connecting her definitely with the court.

The use of a state board of charities or of public welfare, in most instances, is claimed to be only temporary, a means of tiding over the institution until such time as it can add at least one

parole agent to its staff. No doubt in some instances the state department of public welfare is rendering a genuine service to the institution in this emergency.

While very able people who have made a marked contribution to work with delinquent girls strongly favor a separate parole department, such as was found in Massachusetts, the writer believes that there are numerous disadvantages in such a system, notwithstanding the fact that nowhere in our study of girls' training schools did we find so intensive and high-grade work as that of the Girls' Parole Branch of the Massachusetts Training Schools. Its quality, however, appeared to us not to be inherent in the nature of the organization but to be due to the unusually high-grade personnel employed. Moreover, in the Massachusetts system there is some effort made to tie up the work done at an institution with the plan of parole. For example, reports are sent from the institution to the Parole Department showing the views of the cottage mothers, teachers, and other members of the staff, regarding girls about to be paroled, and the parole agent also interviews the girl at the institution rather than in the city office of the department.

We see many disadvantages in having parole completely divorced from the institution. If there is to be a separate department, the agents should, in our opinion, maintain the closest co-operation with the institution and even spend time there with the girls; they should come to know the girls well in their cottage and recreational life prior to their departure from the institution. The views of those who work closest to the girls in an institution should be of great value, providing they are of the calibre to contribute toward the understanding of the individual. No one is in a better position to know a girl's reactions than the woman who lives with her twenty-four hours a day. This presupposes that the girl is given sufficient freedom and opportunity for self-expression to be natural in her reactions and responses. If workers cannot give any assistance in the making of plans for parole, it is certainly proof that they should not be retained on the staff of a training school. If we do not have officers of this type in our schools, we should make every effort to secure them, and in devising a system of parole should not begin at the other end by saying that since

we have women of a type incompetent to contribute toward a plan of parole we will entirely separate it from the institution.

We cannot agree that it is basically unsound for a girl to make the training school "her home center." With many of these girls their own homes cannot be such a center and if the school does not assume this place, often they are left without any home ties. It would seem a natural feeling for a girl to consider the school which had sheltered her and given her training, when she was in need, as a friendly place to which she might return for visits and advice. To shut off this haven seems to us a great mistake, although we agree that a girl should not be encouraged to depend too much on it and that she should be helped to form new ties in the community after she has been paroled.

If the superintendent of a girls' training school is not capable of directing parole as one phase of the program of training and readjustment, she is in our estimation not competent to be the executive of the institution. In order to direct parole, it is true that she should know social case work, but she needs training and experience in that field in order to meet the needs of each pupil while still in the school. If there are any superintendents who are merely matrons and good housekeepers and not able wisely to supervise parole, they should be replaced by a different type of worker. Make the correction where the change is needed. It is thus seen that while believing strongly that each state should carefully study its own situation and make parole plans accordingly, the writer is inclined to favor that system of parole which provides agents on the institutional staff, responsible to the superintendent of the training school. She feels that even the excellent methods of co-operation between the institution at Lancaster and the Girls' Parole Branch in Massachusetts do not entirely meet the objection to a separate system.

Present Situation

Before we discuss more specifically the parole needs in these schools, it will be of interest to indicate the present situation in the 57 girls' schools. In general, we believe it cannot be denied that parole has been one of the last rather than one of the first things to be considered, though high-grade parole work is being

done in a few schools. In numerous instances institutions have developed a good medical service, a well-planned recreational program, and a high-grade academic school before they have included even one parole agent on the staff. Instead of realizing that parole is the test of the whole work of the institution, there would seem to have been a tendency in the past to consider it a "trimming," to be added when plenty of money was available.

We have already outlined the situation in respect to powers of granting parole and discharge in Chapter II, Systems of Control. It was there stated that in more than half of the schools the administrative board passed on each case of parole; while in less than one-fifth did the superintendents alone decide all questions pertaining to parole. The remaining schools had various ways of determining parole, or there was no well-worked-out plan.

It is of interest to note not only the various sources of authority in deciding who is to be paroled from the training school, but also the different types of supervision of girls on parole. The following summary shows the actual number of training schools having one of the five types of parole supervision noted:

Type of Parole Supervision	Number of Schools
By members of staff of institution	39
By committing courts	5
By separate parole branch	1
By parole agents from centralized state office	3
By supervision of state boards of public welfare	4
	52
No parole	5
Total schools	57

It is seen from this statement that the large majority (three-fourths) of the schools with parole carry it on through agents responsible to the superintendent of the institution. As we have stated before, there is only one school which has a separate parole department responsible to the same board which controls the institution. In some schools where the parole work is supposed to be carried on by court probation officers, little work in fact is done.

Not all of the 39 schools, in which the duties of parole are carried by members of the staff of the institution proper, have special parole agents. In the smaller schools, the duties of these agents are often undertaken by the superintendent or by the superintendent assisted by some other members of the staff. In some instances assistance is also secured from outside social agencies. The exact situation in this respect may be shown as follows:

Persons Carrying Out Parole Supervision	Number of Schools
Special parole agents	23
Superintendent of institution	9
Superintendent and other officers	1
Superintendent, other officers, and outside agencies	6
Total schools with parole provision	39

It is seen from this table that only 23 out of 39 of the institutions, where parole constitutes a part of the institutional program, have special parole agents. In the remaining 16, the superintendent alone, or assisted by others, does what is attempted in this direction.

In the 23 training schools which have their own parole agents and in the Girls' Parole Branch in Massachusetts, there is a total of 57 parole workers. Of these 57 agents only seven have ever attended schools of social work. Some additional workers have taken special courses in sociology and social service in colleges and universities. The different types of experience which these 57 parole agents have had before taking up their present duties may be shown as follows:

Previous Experience of Parole Agents	Number of Agents
Experience in outside social case work agency	19
Other social service experience	5
Previous parole experience elsewhere	3
Experience in other institutions in other types of work	6
Held other positions in this training school	20
Formerly public school teacher	6
Formerly policewoman	1
Formerly engaged in private nursing	1

Not only should there be well-trained parole agents on the staff of the institution, but also a sufficient number to do intensive work

with each girl. The number of girls on parole under the supervision of an agent differs considerably among the schools. In four we were unable to secure accurate or comparable statistics on this point. In the remaining 20, which have either agents on the staff of the school or are served by the Girls' Parole Branch (Massachusetts), the average number of girls for each agent is 69. The arithmetic average, however, is too high to be typical here, on account of the influence of four schools with 100 or more girls per agent. Omitting these the average would be 50 or 60 girls to an agent. The situation in this respect can be shown more completely as follows:

Number of Paroled Girls per Agent	Number of Schools
20	1
More than 20, not more than 30	0
" " 30, " " " 40	4
" " 40, " " " 50	2
" " 50, " " " 60	6
" " 60, " " " 70	1
" " 70, " " " 90	2
From 130 to 155	4
Total schools for which number was ascertainable	20

In nearly all schools that have their own parole agents and in the one that has a parole branch, an effort is made to visit the home of each girl nearing parole with the aim of discovering whether it will be possible to return her to her own home. It should be noted, however, that in only 11 schools is an effort made to visit the girl's home soon after her admission to the school. In four of these 11 instances not every girl's home is visited so early; in seven the visit is a routine matter made soon after the girl's admittance. In three schools there are special "home investigators" whose sole function is such visits. These workers are not responsible for any girls on parole. In the other eight schools, the investigation of the girls' homes is made by the regular parole agents.

The following illustrations show some unsatisfactory parole work in these schools and some to be commended. In one large western state training school, for instance, we found a resident, full-

time parole agent who had been employed in that school in various capacities for twenty-four years. She had never had any special training for social work, or specifically for her parole duties. She stated that every one of the 85 girls on parole was "now doing well"; that she wrote to the judge of the committing court before a girl was returned to her own home, but that there was no personal investigation on her part. A girl is also placed in domestic service without a visit by the parole agent to the home where she is to be placed, written references being considered sufficient evidence that it is a suitable one in which to place her. The parole duties of this agent are limited to visiting girls on parole, especially those in domestic service. There is a generally understood rule in the institution that if a girl makes a good record on parole for a year she earns her discharge.

In another institution in a midwestern state (one of the larger schools), the resident parole agent told us that it was not necessary for her to visit the homes of the girls because they are "all alike and are all poor"; but that when she was in a city visiting paroled girls, she "sometimes visited some of the girls' own homes in that city." An attempt is made to visit a girl on parole twice a year. Most of the girls are placed in domestic service on farms.

In one of the largest state schools and one that is doing good work in many directions, the parole system is far from meeting the ideals of the superintendent. It is a combined system of state parole agents (men) and resident agents (women) responsible to the superintendent. These state parole agents, or in some instances local court probation officers, inspect the girls' own homes prior to parole. The report of that investigation is referred to the committing judge to be passed upon. Except in one county, all girls returned to their own homes on parole are supervised by these men parole agents, who are supposed to visit them once a month. The women agents on the staff of the institution find and investigate homes where girls are placed in domestic service positions and supervise such girls, visiting them four or five times a year.

Some of the best parole work observed was at Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut, there being a connection doubtless between the efficiency of parole and the fact that the superin-

tendent of this school is a well-trained, long-experienced social case worker in outside community agencies. She believes that the parole officers should live in the school. With approximately 150 girls on parole at the close of the fiscal year for which we secured statistics, the school had three full-time parole officers and one special home investigator. The state is divided for parole purposes into three parts with an officer responsible for each section. All office work is done in the institution. An effort is made by the home investigator to visit the home of each new girl committed to the school within a month after she has been received and to visit each girl within two or three weeks after she has been paroled; after that, once a month for at least the first year. About half of the paroled girls are returned to their own homes and the other half are placed in domestic service. Children of school age are sometimes boarded out in homes recommended by the Connecticut Children's Aid Society. The school pays board for those young children who attend grammar school outside.

At Sleighton Farm, Pennsylvania, at the time of our visit, there were five full-time parole officers, three living in Philadelphia and two in the institution. Need is felt, in addition, for a special home investigator. The superintendent believes that all the parole agents should keep very closely in touch with the actual work in the institution. The three who have their headquarters in Philadelphia spend their week-ends at Sleighton Farm. They visit the various cottages, talking with the officers and the girls. One of these parole agents visits girls placed in their own homes in Philadelphia and vicinity; the second agent supervises girls placed outside of their own homes in Philadelphia and vicinity; the third, girls placed in Pennsylvania outside of Philadelphia; the fourth, girls in New Jersey; and the fifth (a colored officer) supervises all colored girls on parole. In addition, local probation officers and social workers are sometimes asked to supervise paroled girls in distant parts of the state. In the majority of cases, girls are visited once monthly, and the difficult girls in Philadelphia, sometimes weekly or oftener. Meetings are held in the institution at which parole agents together with the superintendent, assistant superintendent, psychologist, and school principal discuss girls nearing parole. The secretary of the parole department at this

meeting gives the report of the physician and of the director of student government.

At El Retiro, California, the word "parole" is not used. A girl is said to "graduate" or "leave on certificate." The parole officer is known as the "field secretary." She reports to the juvenile court of Los Angeles County when a certain girl is ready to leave El Retiro. The court then "replaces" this girl who may not personally appear in court. This field secretary works toward the improvement of the girl's own home and also with the graduated girl. As a means toward readjustment, three months before our study a club house was opened in Los Angeles, of which the field secretary is head resident. All expenses of this club are met by private subscriptions and from board paid by the girls. The old rambling private house is most homelike and attractive. A former El Retiro girl has charge of the kitchen, for which service she is paid $12 a week. The capacity of the house is about 20 and at the time of our visit 12 girls, who paid board in proportion to their earnings, were living there. Not all were court wards and not all had been at El Retiro. This enterprise is operated, not as an extension of the institution, but as a working girls' club. There are pleasant living rooms in which the girls entertain their friends.

The Girls' Parole Branch, which serves the Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster, Massachusetts, employed at the time of our study 12 social workers and 4 clerical workers. The headquarters of these workers is in Boston where the offices of the Parole Branch are located. The expenditures of the branch for the year ending November 30, 1922, are given in the annual report as $34,517. The number of girls remaining on parole at the end of that period was 456. The Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster has the most extensive and intensive parole work which we found in the United States. At the time of our visit, the 12 social workers of the staff of the Girls' Parole Branch, in addition to the superintendent of parole, included one supervisor of placement, one agent who made all first investigations of homes, one agent who made all second investigations of homes, and eight visitors; all had had previous social service experience. Four had been trained in the Boston School of Social Work; four were college graduates.

As soon as a girl is admitted to the school in Lancaster, the

superintendent sends to the Girls' Parole Branch a brief statement containing the girl's own story regarding her conduct, her family, and so forth. As soon as possible, an agent from the Parole Branch interviews this girl in the institution, going more into detail than did the institution's own officer in the first interview. In actual practice this second telling of the girl's story is often a month or six weeks after she has been admitted. The question is raised whether it is well at this date to revive in a girl's mind all the details of experiences which she had prior to entering the institution and which everyone hopes she will forget. The agent from the Parole Branch who makes the first study of home conditions sends a report of her findings back to the institution.

The superintendent of the school sends to the parole office in Boston a list of girls who will be ready for parole the following month. The Parole Branch then makes a second investigation of the girls' homes. Reports of these second visits are considered at a meeting of the parole committee and the trustees. Just prior to a girl's parole, an agent of the Parole Branch interviews her at the school. During this visit the worker also interviews all girls who have been recently returned to the institution. The worker whose task it is to find a home for the girl to be paroled visits the institution later with a definite home or homes in mind for her. It is believed that these contacts, which are made before the girl leaves the school, are of assistance in causing her to feel that she is not going to strangers when she comes under the care of the Parole Branch. Before a girl is paroled, fairly comprehensive reports regarding her are sent by the institution to the parole office in Boston. The policy in Massachusetts is to send almost all girls directly to domestic service positions, though some may go to their own homes later. After a period of domestic service a girl may sometimes take up other work or study some other vocation. The superintendent and placement supervisor do not favor club houses for these girls because "they are weak and the people with whom they live should be stronger than they are."

The placement supervisor of the Girls' Parole Branch stated that a woman who wishes a girl for domestic service must give five references—a physician, a minister, and three other references. The parole agent secures also one independent reference for this

prospective employer. All homes to which girls are sent are visited personally by an agent of the branch; many have been used over and over for years.

The agent instructs a new employer in considerable detail about what she may expect from the girl and what the parole officer expects from the employer. There is great effort made to fit the girl to the particular home and especially to suit the personalities of girl and employer. We were told that the employer is not given complete information regarding the girl's history, but is told what to guard against. For example, if a girl has been a habitual thief, the employer is told that the girl has given trouble in this respect, and that proper precautions should be taken. The employer must be responsible for the girl's free time; this is a regular part of the agreement. She secures the services of a girl for less than she would pay for another helper, but money is only a part of what she is to give. It is made plain that she has some definite responsibility for supervision.

Roman Catholic girls are placed in Roman Catholic homes and Protestant girls in Protestant homes. Girls are not often placed in families where there are boys over thirteen years of age, unmarried men or widowers. The employer writes once a month to the Parole Branch regarding the girl and sends in that part of the girl's wages which remains after the girl has purchased small things for herself. Each girl is supposed to have about one-fourth of her earnings and the remainder is kept for her. The agents help the girls with their big purchases. We were told that some girls are visited by agents several times a month; others once in two months. Agents take the girls to clinics when necessary and so forth. The quality of the work here is excellent and the spirit of the workers remarkably fine. Employed on the staff are women of education and refinement, and with true understanding of girls. While many do not favor the Massachusetts system because parole in this state is in a large degree divorced from the institution and because so great emphasis is given to the placement of girls in domestic service positions, yet, as has already been stated, the school at Lancaster has the highest grade parole work found in any girls' school included in our study.

Chief Parole Needs

In any enumeration of the chief parole needs of these training schools, first place should be given to an emphasis of its importance. Its part in the task of readjusting girls with conduct difficulties should always be borne in mind. That task is not completed until the girl has found and is occupying her place again in the community outside. Giving more emphasis to parole should mean the employment of more agents. Schools with no agents should have at least one; many with one agent should have two or three to do intensive and extensive work. Often superintendents are fully aware of the parole needs of their schools but the obstacle is of a financial nature. No state can afford to economize at the expense of inadequate parole supervision for its wards.

A second great need is to have agents with the necessary personal qualities, education, and special training. Women in these positions should have a genuine liking for girls, sympathy, imagination, a sense of humor, good judgment, and a pleasing personality. They should have received a liberal education in college or elsewhere. If parole agents are to do high-grade social case work, it is obvious that they require social service training, such as may be received in a school for social work or in some of our colleges.

A third important need is that all parole should be based on an intensive study of the individual prior to her parole. Ideally this study should have been begun when the girl first entered the institution and should have been continued throughout her entire stay there. If the school provides such a careful, scientific, well-rounded study begun soon after a girl's admission, including physical, mental, and social studies, the parole agents should carefully consider all findings and recommendations resulting from these studies made by physicians, psychologists, psychiatrists, and others. In most cases the social studies are made by the parole agents themselves or by a home investigator attached to the parole staff. A girl's emotional reactions, personality, interests, capacities, and ambitions must be understood if a wise parole plan is to be made.

The outline followed by the Girls' Parole Branch of the Massa-

chusetts Training Schools for its written report on each girl discloses a comprehensiveness and thoroughness not attained in many institutions. It suggests, however, a goal toward which others might well strive. We quote here in detail this outline:

PART I

Commitment Name
Real Name
Color
Date of Birth
(Verified, not verified or no record found)
Place of Birth
Legitimate, Illegitimate
Adopted (date, verified)
Married (date, verified, name of husband)

Investigation by
Date
Date of Commitment
Age at Commitment
Court
Judge
Charge
Complainant
(Full name and relation to case)

I. Family

- Consists of
  - Parents (names, ages, addresses)
  - Siblings (names, ages chronologically arranged, including all still births, miscarriages, civil state, addresses)
- Race and Nativity of Parents
- Religion
  - Catholic
  - Protestant
  - Jewish

  } Are parents regular attendants?
- History
  - Marriages of Parents (date, place, verified)
  - Consanguinity of Parents (if related, state how. Otherwise omit)
  - Parents and siblings treated separately as to:
    - Date of landing in U. S. if foreign born. (Naturalization of father. Not to be verified)
    - Occupation
      - Efficiency
      - Wages, how used
    - Education (note if do not speak English)
    - Habits
    - Disposition
    - Attitude toward family

Family—(Continued)

- Influence on Girl
- Reputation in the Community
- Health
  - Physical
  - Mental
- Court Records
- If not living, give date and cause of death

Home (this includes own home and foster homes)

- Tenement, single cottage, amount of rent paid
- Number of rooms, how used
- Cleanliness, sunlight and air, furnishings
- Where and with whom did girl sleep?

Lodgers or roomers (names, ages, reputation)

- Neighborhood—congested or undesirable (Unsupervised parks or playgrounds, dance halls, cafés, saloons, picture shows, R. R. depot or bad neighbors near)
- Migration of family (names of towns and cities where family lived)
- Frequency of changes
- Public relief (for what periods of time and how much)

Relatives

- Paternal (names, addresses, reputation, physical and mental defects if inheritable; note those who have died of any inheritable disease)
- Maternal (treat same as paternal. If any relative is especially interested in girl, note after name of relative)

II. Girl

(put in only those facts that would hinder normal development)

Developmental period

Health of Parents

(1) Physical condition
(2) Mental condition
(3) Venereal diseases
(4) Abortions
(5) Did work of parents bring them in contact with lead?
(6) Habits reducing vitality, as drunkenness, drugs, excessive immorality

Prenatal History

(1) Work of mother

Girl—(Continued)

(2) Nourishment of mother
Lack of food
Excessive worry

(3) Diseases of mother, such as temporary insanity, uremia, venereal diseases

(4) Injuries to mother

(5) Were bad habits continued?

Birth

Premature, operation, instruments used, difficult labor

Environment

Companions (names, addresses, ages, reputation). Were bad companions sought? Was girl a leader? Had she a lover? (If so, name, age, reputation, address)

Recreation

How did she spend her leisure time?

Church

Catholic

Protestant (What denomination?) Did she attend regularly?

Education

Date of leaving school

Age

Reason

In what grade enrolled?

Grades repeated

Reasons (health, conduct, mentality, attendance)

Scholarship

In what studies did she rank highest? Lowest?

Did teachers consider her mentally deficient?

Attitude toward teachers and school work

Work

How long out of school before finding employment?

Occupations

Efficiency

Wages—how used?—Did she have spending money?

Changes

How frequent?

Reason (girl's reason as well as employer's)

How long idle before commitment?

Delinquencies

Age when began

Girl—(Continued)

- Type (include in each case an illustration and girl's reasons)
- Lying—nature of lies
- Stealing
- Truancy from school, from work
- Disobedience at home, at school
- Staying out late at night
- Staying away over night (state with whom, reputation and address)
- Unchastity
  - Age when began
  - Did she receive money for immorality
  - Smoking
  - Drinking
  - Had illegitimate child
    - Date of birth of child
    - Name of child
    - Location of child
    - Name of father of child, with age, reputation and address
  - Pregnant when committed
    - Name, age, address and reputation of putative father
  - Previous court record
    - Dates, charges, disposition
    - Probation
  - New arrest when committed or surrendered on old complaint
  - Reaction to arrests and probation

III. Girl's Story Briefly Stated

IV. Material to Work With

- Makeup of girl
- Health
  - In childhood was she backward in developing? Explain in what way
  - Defects
    - Sight, hearing, speech, teeth
- Physical condition
    - General diseases (measles, mumps, etc.)
  - Venereal Diseases
  - Convulsions
  - Enuresis

Material to Work With—(Continued)

Did she walk or talk in sleep?
Injuries
Habits
Tea, coffee, tobacco, drugs
Growth
Rapid or hindered
Over- or under-developed
Menstruation
Age
Periods—too frequent, infrequent, or painful
Mental Examination
Date
Name of doctor
Diagnosis

PART II

Sources of Information

Other societies knowing girl or family
Girl: Description
Arresting police officer, probation officer, complainant, judge who committed girl, family physician, teachers, pastors, overseers of the poor, town clerk, selectmen, Board of Assessors, relatives, employers of girls, employers of parents and siblings; state, court and hospital records.
Name of each person from whom information has been obtained should be given, with his present address and his relation to case.[1]

Another need is that the parole of each girl should take place at just the right time for her. In our study we found that parole in these schools was based on the following five factors: (1) legal limit, (2) physical condition, (3) character development, (4) completion of training program, (5) the finding of a suitable home for the girl. In some institutions all or some of these factors enter into the parole of each girl. The legal age limit for retaining a girl in a training school is generally twenty-one years, but some states definitely prescribe by law that previous to a girl's reaching her majority she must have a chance on parole. In most states, where

[1] Burleigh, Edith N., and Harris, Frances R., The Delinquent Girl. New York School of Social Work, New York, 1923, pp. 20–23.

there is no such legal requirement, this is the common practice. It is obvious that no girl should be paroled until her physical condition, especially if affected with a venereal disease, makes it safe both for her and for the community. It is more difficult to determine when a girl's character development has reached the point where she should be paroled, as there are no specific tests which can be applied. After a girl's physical condition is satisfactory, she should be paroled at the moment it is felt that the purpose of the institution has been met in properly remotivating, readjusting, and re-educating her for community life. The fourth factor, the completion of training, should not in our opinion enter into the question at all. This has already been discussed under Prevocational and Vocational Training. It is obvious that the finding of a suitable home must sometimes constitute a factor. A girl who cannot return to her own home cannot be placed, of course, until another has been found for her. Every effort should be made, however, to start the parole machinery sufficiently long before a girl is ready to leave the institution, in order to reduce delay at this point to a minimum.

We found in our study of case records that some children seemed to be paroled too soon and others remained too long in the institution. In a few instances girls were paroled in order to make room for new ones who needed to be admitted. In one state training school one whole cottage group was paroled because of the necessity of reducing the financial expense of the institution. Many of these girls were not ready for parole. In one or two instances we felt that girls were paroled largely "to get rid of them." At least some very troublesome girls with poor records throughout their stay in the institution seemed to have been paroled before there was any change for the better as far as the case records showed. Occasionally a very troublesome girl was permitted to return home when it was doubtful whether parents who had failed with her earlier would be of any help to her.

On the other hand, our study of case records showed that some girls remained too long in a school. Sometimes they were kept on the ground of having them complete their training when in our judgment they should have had a chance on parole at an earlier date. A plan for continuation of training in the community might

Harvest Time

be worked out. In a very few institutions we felt that certain girls had practically been "forgotten." In these instances there was no parole agent and parole was not considered a definite part of the institutional program. Some girls remained too long because the parole machinery had become clogged. An inadequate parole staff may mean a long waiting list of homes to be investigated. Girls must then remain in the institution until their names are reached by the parole department. In one or two schools that were considering the building of additional cottages, we urged that they analyze their population first to see if some pupils were not ready for parole.

Several schools possessed commendable elasticity of system regarding the period before parole. Girls who had been committed to the institution and whom the superintendent and board, after careful study, did not feel were actually institutional cases, had been paroled almost at once to boarding homes. In some instances these children had continued their education in outside public schools. In additional instances where the superintendent and parole department felt that a girl would benefit more by supervision on parole than by a longer stay in the institution, she had been paroled after only a few months in the training school. These, of course, are exceptional cases, as the average length of stay before parole is in many training schools approximately one year and a half.

The provisions made for the girls on parole should, in our judgment, be those which meet best the needs of the individual. There should not be one parole plan for the entire population of the school. Whether a girl returns to her own home, enters domestic service, or takes a business position that necessitates her living in a boarding house or special club house, for example, should depend on the particular case. The presupposition, however, should be that a girl's own home is the best place for her, provided that home is fit. This means that the parole department, just prior to the girl's parole, should in every instance make a careful investigation of her own home. If this home has been visited earlier, reinvestigation at this time will be necessary. If conditions in a girl's home make her return at the moment impossible, her parents may improve conditions in order that she may later join the family group.

There are some homes to which a girl should never return and even some family ties that must be entirely broken. Such instances involve most careful placement and wise supervision on the part of the parole department.

Advocates for routine placing of girls in domestic service feel that a period at housework is desirable for every girl. The chief reasons given for this position are (1) the girl can be constantly supervised and protected; (2) she can learn proper standards of home life; (3) the employer may be a powerful factor in her further training. They believe that later many of these girls may return to their own homes or take training that will fit them to enter a business office or shop. An effort is generally made to secure a domestic service position where a girl will not be considered a servant but half-way between an older daughter and a mother's helper. However, we doubt whether it is always possible to secure homes of this type. This is governed partly by the location of the training school and the point of view of the average citizen toward its work. Moreover, as far as the protection of the girl is concerned, it should be remembered that there are distinct moral dangers in domestic service. Social studies have been made that bear witness to this fact. While it is true that there are advantages in a girl's seeing happy, normal family life, good home standards can be given the girl while she is living in very small cottages within the training school. In the cottage where a girl lives just prior to parole, special effort should be made to have the life resemble as closely as possible that of a normal family. In the days of large congregate institutions, this argument for domestic service for all girls had more weight. No doubt a good employer can supply further training and guidance, but if a girl is placed in a business position and lives in a clubhouse much can be done for her in this direction by the housemother in that club. A very important point which should not be forgotten is that some of these girls intensely dislike housework. To make such girls spend even a few months at domestic service when they first leave the institution may be the cause of their revolting against the whole régime. If they could go at once from the institution to positions that would hold their interest rather than into housework, the first months of difficult readjustment might be passed more successfully.

For those employed otherwise than at domestic service, there must obviously be a plan for their living arrangements. In some schools the problem is met by a club house or parole house which continues, though in lessened degree, the supervision given in the institution. A disadvantage often cited is that it is better for these girls not to continue their acquaintanceship after they leave the institution, but to be thrown with those who have not had their experience, a need partly met by boarding homes for working girls which also receive some young girls who have not been in a training school. However, the question arises whether such a plan is wise for these other girls. Boarding homes may be found where the woman in charge will take some responsibility for supervision, but this is often difficult to work out.

Some training schools parole certain of their youngest pupils who can benefit by further academic training to homes in the community where board is paid for them, an admirable plan in some instances. These girls, however, should be of normal mentality and not greatly retarded. A girl five or six years older than other girls in her class will often suffer discouragement which renders such a parole plan undesirable.

Another important need is the use of all community resources by parole agents in making plans for particular girls. An agent is often unable to give all the detailed supervision she would wish and in many cases supplementary aid can be provided by Big Sister organizations, church visitors, Young Women's Christian Associations, and other social agencies. Sometimes women's clubs have assisted to carry through projects for individual girls. Organized recreational agencies have also co-operated splendidly. The parole agent should see that each girl is affiliated with some church and with some outside character-building agency, as a playground association, the Girl Scouts, and so forth, wherever these agencies exist.

Finally, there should be elasticity in the length of the parole period. A girl should know that her conduct on parole will determine the length of time during which she is supervised. After she earns an honorable discharge she should feel as free to come back to the parole agent as to a friend for advice, but an effort should also be made to help her stand on her own feet as far as

possible. In many schools a girl may earn an honorable discharge before her twenty-first birthday, if she has had a good record for a couple of years on parole.

Parole is the last step taken with girls sent to training schools because of serious conduct difficulties. It may well be considered a part of the program of re-education which begins when the girl enters the door of the institution and is not concluded until she is safely and wisely reabsorbed into the outside community. Between these two steps of admission and parole a constructive program best suited to her needs must be carried out. This presupposes the presence of the major factors treated in the foregoing chapters: an administrative board to guide wisely the policies of the school and to take ultimate responsibility for the work; a superintendent and staff with education, culture, and understanding of the special problems involved with genuine sympathy for girls who have suffered from neglect or misfortune, and a devoted and untiring purpose to inspire them to good womanhood. Financial support adequate for the requirements of a necessarily expensive task; suitable location and satisfactory buildings which will aid, not hinder, the proper development of the work; a well-planned educational system including academic and æsthetic instruction and industrial activities; a scientific study of the individual girl from medical, psychological, psychiatric and social case work points of view; and, finally, treatment based on the comprehensive study thus outlined. A training school program meeting these major needs will make it possible to return to the communities a large number of girls who will cease to present difficult social problems and who will become desirable, law-abiding citizens.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS IN THE UNITED STATES INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY BY STATES[1]

State and School	City or Town	Type of Control
Alabama		
Girls' Rescue Home (for colored girls)	Mt. Meigs	Private
State Training School for Girls	Birmingham	State
Arkansas		
Arkansas Training School for Girls	Alexander	State
California		
California School for Girls	Ventura	State
El Retiro	San Fernando	County
Colorado		
Colorado State Industrial School for Girls	Mt. Morrison	State
Connecticut		
Long Lane Farm	Middletown	State
Delaware		
Delaware Industrial School for Girls	Claymont	Private (with State Aid)
Industrial School for Colored Girls	Marshallton	State
District of Columbia		
National Training School for Girls	Washington	District
Florida		
Dade County Home for Delinquent Girls and Indigents	Miami	County
Florida Industrial Home for Colored Girls	Ocala	Private
Florida Industrial School for Girls	Ocala	State
Georgia		
Georgia Training School for Girls	Atlanta	State
Illinois		
The State Training School for Girls	Geneva	State
Chicago Home for Girls	Chicago	Private

[1] The schools caring for both boys and girls that were visited by Miss Reeves are not included in this list.

TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS

State and School	City or Town	Type of Control
Indiana		
Indiana Girls' School	Clermont	State
Iowa		
Training School for Girls	Mitchellville	State
Kansas		
State Industrial School for Girls	Beloit	State
Maine		
State School for Girls	Hallowell	State
Maryland		
Montrose School for Girls	Woodensburg	State
Industrial Home for Colored Girls	Melvale	Private
Massachusetts		
Industrial School for Girls	Lancaster	State
Michigan		
State Industrial Home for Girls	Adrian	State
Minnesota		
Hennepin County Home School for Girls	Minneapolis	County
Home School for Girls	Sauk Center	State
Ramsey County Girls' Home School	St. Paul	County
Missouri		
Industrial Home for Negro Girls	Tipton	State
Jackson County Parental Home for Girls	Independence	County
State Industrial Home for Girls	Chillicothe	State
Montana		
Vocational School for Girls	Helena	State
Nebraska		
Girls' Industrial School	Geneva	State
Nebraska Industrial Home	Milford	State
New Mexico		
Girls' Welfare Home	Albuquerque	State
New York		
Brooklyn Training School and Home for Young Girls	Brooklyn	Private
New York State Training School for Girls	Hudson	State
North Carolina		
State Home and Industrial School for Girls and Women (Samarcand Manor)	Samarcand	State
Ohio		
Girls' Farm of Cleveland	Cleveland	City
Opportunity Farm for Girls	Cincinnati	City
The Girls' Industrial School	Delaware	State

LIST OF TRAINING SCHOOLS

State and School	City or Town	Type of Control
Oklahoma		
State Industrial School for Girls	Tecumseh	State
Oklahoma Industrial Home for Colored Girls	Taft	State
Oregon		
Oregon State Industrial School for Girls	Salem	State
Pennsylvania		
Girls' Department of the Glen Mills Schools (Sleighton Farm)	Darlington (P. O. Darling)	Private (State Support)
Rhode Island		
Oaklawn School for Girls	Howard	State
South Carolina		
South Carolina Industrial School for Girls	Columbia	State
Fairwold Industrial School for Colored Girls	Columbia	Private
Tennessee		
Tennessee Vocational School for Girls	Tullahoma	State
Texas		
Bexar County School for Girls	San Antonio	County
Dorcas Home (for colored girls)	Houston	Private
Girls' Training School	Gainesville	State
Harris County School for Girls	Bellaire	County
Virginia		
Virginia Home and Industrial School for Girls	Bon Air	State
Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls	Peaks Turnout	State
Washington		
State School for Girls	Grand Mound	State
West Virginia		
West Virginia Industrial Home for Girls	Industrial	State
Wisconsin		
Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls	Milwaukee	State

APPENDIX B

TABLE 7.—COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY

I. EASTERN SECTION—PART 1, GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS

School	Year of founding	Statistics for fiscal year ending in	Grounds		Value of buildings and equipment	Amount of endowment	Total value of all property	Type of housing	Normal capacity[a]	Beds found			Value of property per bed (normal capacity)
			Acres	Value						In single rooms	In dormitories[b]	Total	
State Control													
1. MAINE, State School for Girls	1872[c]	1922	39[d]	$3,550	$227,561	$11,094	$242,205	Cottage	145	98	46	144	$1,670
2. MASSACHUSETTS, Industrial School for Girls	1854	1922	268	31,935	420,550	..	452,485	Cottage	249	268	43	311[e]	1,817
3. RHODE ISLAND, Oaklawn School for Girls	1880[f]	1921	29	15,000	110,000	..	125,000	Cottage	46	7	46	53	2,717
4. CONNECTICUT, Long Lane Farm	1868[g]	1922	141	25,000	280,929	49,363	355,292	Cottage[h]	167	167	55	222	2,127
5. NEW YORK, State Training School for Girls	1881	1922	171	40,100	918,690	..	958,790	Cottage	393	386	8[j]	394	2,440
6. DELAWARE, Industrial School for Colored Girls	1920[k]	1922	10	1,500	8,500	..	10,000	Cottage	15	1[l]	18[m]	19	667
7. MARYLAND, Montrose School for Girls	1866[n]	1922	486	65,000	170,000[o]	10,000[p]	245,000	Cottage	53	37	54	91[q]	4,623
8. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, National Training School for Girls	1888	1922	19	38,000[r]	132,000[r]	..	170,000	Cottage	64	95	..	95	2,656
Private Control													
9. NEW YORK, Brooklyn Training School and Home for Young Girls	1889	1922	½	75,000	57,000[o]	2,000	134,000	Combination	17	2	23	25[t]	7,882
10. PENNSYLVANIA, Girls' Department, Glen Mills Schools	1826[u]	1921	270	40,000[r]	459,800[r]	..[s]	499,800	Cottage[v]	384	268	157	425[w]	1,302
11. DELAWARE, Industrial School for Girls	1893	1922	75	18,000	170,000	7,800	195,800	Cottage	76	67	10[x]	77	2,576
12. MARYLAND, Industrial Home for Colored Girls	1882	1921	7	3,000	21,000	..	24,000[y]	Congregate	89	..	114	114	270

[a] Normal capacity has been calculated according to amount of floor space and ventilation.
[b] Includes sleeping porches in regular use.
[c] Founded as a private institution, became a state institution in 1898.
[d] In addition 85 acres are rented.
[e] Not including 34 additional beds in two large attics.
[f] A municipal reform school for both sexes was established in 1850 by the city of Providence. This was transferred to the state in 1880, when separate schools for boys and girls were created.
[g] From the beginning the state paid board for each girl. The state took over the school in 1921.
[h] At the time of our visit, one cottage contained 64 beds. Other cottages contained not more than 36.
[j] Beds or cribs for babies.
[k] Established by the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs in 1920; became a state institution in 1921.
[l] One girl slept alone in officers' bathroom.
[m] Four girls slept in two double-deck beds.
[n] A private institution until 1918. The House of Refuge, for both sexes, was incorporated in 1830. This was not opened until 1855. About 1866 the girls were removed to the Female House of Refuge, which later became the Maryland Industrial School for Girls and is now the Montrose School for Girls.
[o] Exclusive of cottage under construction.
[p] Land owned elsewhere.
[q] In addition six girls slept in two halls, one in a large attic, and one shared an officer's room.
[r] Our estimate.
[s] No information obtained concerning amount of endowment.
[t] Small number of beds temporarily during rebuilding program.
[u] Founded as the House of Refuge, with departments for boys and girls. The boys' department moved from Philadelphia in 1892; the girls' department in 1910.
[v] Although built on the cottage plan, some of the units are large. Two cottages contained 70 and 77 beds, respectively.
[w] In addition 24 girls slept in three large basement rooms, and eight in two large attics.
[x] Five double-deck beds.
[y] Is mortgaged for $7,500.

TABLE 7.—COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY—*continued*

I. EASTERN SECTION—PART 2, CURRENT EXPENSES, EMPLOYES AND WARDS

School	Current expense		General salaries		Teachers' salaries[a]		Number on staff	Per cent of staff with tenure of				Wards in institution				
	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita		More than 10 years	5 to 10 years	1 to 5 years	Less than 1 year	When year began	Received during year	Total within year	Average during year	Average per worker
State Control																
1. MAINE, State School for Girls	$74,304	$563	$17,064	$129	$1,867	$14	29	4	..	41	55	127	39	166	132	4.6
2. MASSACHUSETTS, Industrial School for Girls	144,159[b]	494	49,178[b]	168	8,776[b]	30	75[b]	18	21	26	35	285	189	474	292	3.9
3. RHODE ISLAND, Oaklawn School for Girls	20,200	430	3,713	79	600	13	6	33	..	50	17	37	88	125	47	7.8
4. CONNECTICUT, Long Lane Farm	147,370	788	53,931	288	8,610	46	58	4	5	48	43	191	106	297	187	3.2
5. NEW YORK, State Training School for Girls	237,778	643	92,404	250	8,904	24	110	12	17	38	33	364	201	565	370[c]	3.4
6. DELAWARE, Industrial School for Colored Girls	3,536	196	1,233	69	[d]	..	3[d]	..	..	33	67	17	9	26	18	6.0
7. MARYLAND, Montrose School for Girls	44,906	548	15,572	190	1,920	23	18	15	20	45	20	78	43	121	82	4.6
8. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, National Training School for Girls	34,813	328	11,603	109	825	8	22	9	..	9	82	107	64	171	106	4.8
Private Control																
9. NEW YORK, Brooklyn Training School and Home for Young Girls	14,574	347	5,415	129	[e]	..	7[e]	..	29	71	..	48	25	73	42	6.0
10. PENNSYLVANIA, Girls' Department, Glen Mills Schools	208,694	460	64,261	142	7,250	16	91	7	11	47	35	468	144	612	454	5.0
11. DELAWARE, Industrial School for Girls	33,270	444	8,482	113	1,006	13	14	10	20	50	20	85	25	110	75	5.4
12. MARYLAND, Industrial Home for Colored Girls	24,179[f]	242	4,167	42	420	4	11	36	18	37	9	106	39	145	100	9.1

[a] Teachers' salaries include salaries for academic and music teachers and for recreation directors.
[b] Exclusive of Girls' Parole Branch.
[c] Includes three babies.
[d] One academic teacher, included in staff, paid by State Board of Education.
[e] One academic teacher, included in staff, paid by City Board of Education.
[f] Exclusive of expenditures for cotton, used in the factory department.

TABLE 7.—COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY—*continued*

I. EASTERN SECTION—PART 3, PAROLES AND COMMITMENTS OF WARDS

School	Average stay before parole (years)	Number of wards							Kind of commitment			Period of commitment			Age on commitment (years)		
		On parole when year began	Paroled during year[a]	Returned to court[a]	Died	Other disposition[a]	In school at close of year	On parole at close of year	Court alone	Court and private	Private alone	All indeterminate	Some indeterminate	All fixed or temporary	Minimum[b]	Maximum[b]	Average
State Control																	
1. MAINE, State School for Girls	4.1	100	25	..	1	6	134	86	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	9	17	13.4
2. MASSACHUSETTS, Industrial School for Girls	2.0	482	198	..	1	3	272	456	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	7	17	15.5
3. RHODE ISLAND, Oaklawn School for Girls	1.5	39	30	21	..	31	43	66	Yes	..	..	..	Yes	..	8	18	14.6
4. CONNECTICUT, Long Lane Farm	1.9	156	108	..	..	13	176	153	..	Yes[c]	..	Yes	..	..	8	16	13.5
5. NEW YORK, State Training School for Girls	2.9	267	157	19	1	21	367	275	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	12	16	15.5
6. DELAWARE, Industrial School for Colored Girls	1.5[d]	..[e]	6	..	..	1	19	..[e]	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	..	18	14.5
7. MARYLAND, Montrose School for Girls	1.9	45	23	..	..	12	86	53[f]	Yes	..	..	..	Yes	..	8	21	15.8
8. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, National Training School for Girls	2.2	..[e]	57	4	..	4	106	..[e]	Yes	..[g]	..	Yes	..	..	..	17	15
Private Control																	
9. NEW YORK, Brooklyn Training School and Home for Young Girls	2.2	10	27	..	..	19	27	25	..	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	10	16	13
10. PENNSYLVANIA, Girls' Department, Glen Mills Schools	2.3	474	118	..	..	60	434	425	Yes	..	..	..	Yes[h]	..	8	18[j]	15
11. DELAWARE, Industrial School for Girls	2.8	28	44	..	..	1	65	50	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	..	18	14.5
12. MARYLAND, Industrial Home for Colored Girls	2.5[d]	d	d	7	..	42	96	d	Yes	..[g]	..	..	Yes	..	..	18	15

[a] Counting no girl more than once.
[b] Minimum and maximum ages on commitment fixed by law or by ruling of Board.
[c] Girls rarely received by private commitment.
[d] No real parole system.
[e] Information not available.
[f] Estimate of superintendent.
[g] Private commitment permitted by law, but did not occur in practice.
[h] In few cases only.
[j] In special cases girls over 18 are admitted.

TABLE 7.—COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY—*continued*

II. SOUTHERN SECTION—PART 1, GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS

School	Year of founding	Statistics for fiscal year ending in	Grounds		Value of buildings and equipment	Amount of endowment	Total value of all property	Type of housing	Normal capacity[a]	Beds found			Value of property per bed (normal capacity)
			Acres	Value						In single rooms	In dormitories[b]	Total	
State Control													
1. VIRGINIA, Virginia Home and Industrial School for Girls	1906[c]	1921	267	$15,000	$100,000	..	$115,000	Cottage	63	42	40	82	$1,825
2. VIRGINIA, Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls	1914[d]	1921	147	6,000	69,000	..	75,000	Cottage	65	14	64	78	1,154
3. WEST VIRGINIA, Industrial Home for Girls	1897	1921	60	12,000	178,850	..	190,850	Cottage	135	110	9	119	1,414
4. NORTH CAROLINA, State Home and Industrial School for Girls and Women	1917	1921	330	28,500	160,822	..	189,322	Cottage	193	80	117	197	981
5. SOUTH CAROLINA, South Carolina Industrial School for Girls	1918	1921	541	44,000	125,000	..	169,000	Cottage	53	33	22	55	3,189
6. TENNESSEE, Tennessee Vocational School for Girls	1915	1921	210	2,100	130,000	..	132,100	Cottage	83	83	..	83	1,592
7. GEORGIA, Georgia Training School for Girls	1913	1921	90	5,892	79,030	$252	85,174	Cottage	60	38	34	79[e]	1,420
8. FLORIDA, Florida Industrial School for Girls	1915	1921	200	10,000	85,000	..	95,000	Cottage	31	..	58	58	3,065
9. ALABAMA, State Training School for Girls	1908[f]	1921	500	5,000[g]	36,800[g]	..	41,800[g]	Cottage	52	..	78	78[h]	804
10. ARKANSAS, Arkansas Training School for Girls	1917	1922	240	24,000	65,000	..	89,000	Cottage	43	15	33	48[j]	2,070
11. TEXAS, Girls' Training School	1913	1921	160	32,000	174,810	..	206,810	Cottage	78	78	..	78	2,651
County Control													
12. FLORIDA, Dade County Home for Delinquent Girls and Indigents	1920	1921	30[k]	75,000[k]	25,000[k]	..	100,000[k]	Cottage	20	..	19	19	..
13. TEXAS, Bexar County School for Girls	1921	1922	32	5,000	95,000	..	100,000	Cottage	31	20	4	24	3,226
14. TEXAS, Harris County School for Girls	1914	1921	109	17,000	100,000	..	117,000	Cottage	131	58	67	125	893
Private Control													
15. SOUTH CAROLINA, Fairwold Industrial School for Colored Girls	1919	1921	30	900	4,000	..	4,900	Cottage	28	2	24	26	175
16. FLORIDA, Florida Industrial Home for Colored Girls	1921	1922[l]	..[m]	..	..	..	..[m]	Cottage	16	..	8	8	..
17. ALABAMA, Girls' Rescue Home (for Colored Girls)	1921	1922	5	225	6,775	..	7,000	Cottage	15	..	15[n]	15	467
18. TEXAS, Dorcas Home for Colored Girls	1914	1922	15	..[o]	..[o]	700	6,200	Cottage	16	..	7	7	388

[a] Normal capacity has been calculated according to amount of floor space and ventilation.
[b] Includes sleeping porches in regular use.
[c] Became a state institution in 1914.
[d] Founded by the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs; became a state institution in 1920.
[e] Including seven beds placed in two halls at night.
[f] Established as private institution in 1908; taken over by the state in 1911.
[g] Estimated.
[h] At the time of visit 104 girls were using these beds.
[j] In addition two girls slept in large attic.
[k] Applies to entire institution, including department for adult indigents.
[l] Statistics for 10 months from the opening of school to date of our visit.
[m] Grounds are three city lots. School did not own building or equipment, but rent was free.
[n] Thirteen beds in one dormitory, but only six in use at time of visit.
[o] Not available.

TABLE 7.—COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY—*continued*

II. SOUTHERN SECTION—PART 2, CURRENT EXPENSES, EMPLOYES AND WARDS

School	Current expense		General salaries		Teachers' salaries[a]		Number on staff	Per cent of staff with tenure of				Wards in institution				
	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita		More than 10 years	5 to 10 years	1 to 5 years	Less than 1 year	When year began	Received during year	Total within year	Average during year	Average per worker
State Control																
1. VIRGINIA, Virginia Home and Industrial School for Girls	$38,837	$518	$14,881	$198	$1,375	$18	17	..	11	47	42	66	60	126	75	4.4
2. VIRGINIA, Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls	19,719	238	4,917	59	120[b]	7	11	..	..	45	55	83	38	121	83	7.5
3. WEST VIRGINIA, Industrial Home for Girls	30,000	294	10,252	101	1,829	18	16	..	47	29	24	95	81	176	102	6.4
4. NORTH CAROLINA, State Home and Industrial School for Girls and Women	84,619	468	19,613	108	6,125	34	26	..	..	31	69	168	60	228	181	7.0
5. SOUTH CAROLINA, South Carolina Industrial School for Girls	18,240	588	6,115	197	900	29	8	..	..	50	50	20	36	56	31	3.9
6. TENNESSEE, Tennessee Vocational School for Girls	25,029	329	5,431	71	1,777	23	9	..	..	55	45	76	36	112	76	8.4
7. GEORGIA, Georgia Training School for Girls	52,133	606	9,800	114	1,620	19	15	..	..	69	31	114	37	151	86	5.7
8. FLORIDA, Florida Industrial School for Girls	21,467	537	4,387	110	920	23	4	..	..	57	43	42	18	60	40	10.0
9. ALABAMA, State Training School for Girls	15,766	228	5,690	82	0	0	7	..	9	27	64	54	79	133	69	9.9
10. ARKANSAS, Arkansas Training School for Girls	23,940	469	7,940	156	900	18	12	..	..	69	31	45	33	78	51	4.2
11. TEXAS, Girls' Training School	59,300	791	16,020	214	4,380	58	29	..	13	29	58	69	60	129	75	2.6
County Control																
12. FLORIDA, Dade County Home for Delinquent Girls and Indigents	12,878[c]	495[c]	6,482[c]	249[c]	0	0	6[c]	..	..	83	17	..	39[c]	39[c]	26[c]	4.3[c]
13. TEXAS, Bexar County School for Girls	10,281	428	4,560	190	900	38	7	..	..	29	71	17	48	65	24	3.4
14. TEXAS, Harris County School for Girls	46,247	395	11,817	101	4,620	39	19	..	20	35	45	106	48	154	117	6.2
Private Control																
15. SOUTH CAROLINA, Fairwold Industrial School for Colored Girls	2,975	149	1,500	75	0	0	2	..	..	50	50	14	15	29	20	10.0
16. FLORIDA, Florida Industrial Home for Colored Girls	..[e]	..[e]	..[e]	..[e]	..[e]	..[e]	1	..	..	..	100	1	10	11	3	3.0
17. ALABAMA, Girls' Rescue Home (for Colored Girls)	..[e]	..[e]	..[e]	..[e]	..[e]	..[e]	1	..	..	100	..	..	13	13	10	10.0
18. TEXAS, Dorcas Home for Colored Girls	..[e]	..[e]	..[e]	..[e]	..[e]	..[e]	2	..	..	..	100	16	2	18	10	5.0

[a] Teachers' salaries include salaries for academic and music teachers and for recreation directors.
[b] In addition $500 was received from the State Board of Education.
[c] For entire institution population, including indigent adults. The average number of girls was 10.
[e] Data not obtainable.

TABLE 7. COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY—*continued*

II. SOUTHERN SECTION—PART 3, PAROLES AND COMMITMENTS OF WARDS

School	Average stay before parole (years)	Number of wards							Kind of commitment			Period of commitment			Age on commitment (years)		
		On parole when year began	Paroled during year[a]	Returned to court[a]	Died	Other disposition[a]	In school at close of year	On parole at close of year	Court alone	Court and private	Private alone	All indeterminate	Some indeterminate	All fixed or temporary	Minimum[b]	Maximum[b]	Average
State Control																	
1. VIRGINIA, Virginia Home and Industrial School for Girls	2[c]	34	34	3	..	15	74	43	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	8	18	16
2. VIRGINIA, Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls	2[c]	21	35	..	1	3	82	62	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	12	18	15.7
3. WEST VIRGINIA, Industrial Home for Girls	1.8	104	28	3	..	30	115	103	..	Yes[d]	..	Yes[e]	..	..	12	18	15
4. NORTH CAROLINA, State Home and Industrial School for Girls and Women	1.7	37	30	..	..	2	196	67	..	Yes[f]	..	..	Yes[g]	..	..	..	..
5. SOUTH CAROLINA, South Carolina Industrial School for Girls	2[c]	6	2	..	..	5	49	7	..	Yes[h]	..	..	Yes[g]	..	8	20	15.3
6. TENNESSEE, Tennessee Vocational School for Girls	1.3	..[j]	25	..	..	5	82	..[j]	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	..	18	15.1
7. GEORGIA, Georgia Training School for Girls	1.8	..[j]	77[k]	..	..	..	74	..[j]	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	10	18	14.4
8. FLORIDA, Florida Industrial School for Girls	2[c]	52	20	..	..	..	40	72	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	10	17	14.4
9. ALABAMA, State Training School for Girls	3[c]	..[j]	13	4	..	17	99	..[j]	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	9	18	14
10. ARKANSAS, Arkansas Training School for Girls	1.5	2	17	..	1	7	53	18	Yes	..	..	..	Yes	..	12	21	16
11. TEXAS, Girls' Training School	1.5	124	36	3	..	13	77	155	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	7	18	15.5
County Control																	
12. FLORIDA, Dade County Home for Delinquent Girls and Indigents	0.7	..	5	..	..	19	15	5	Yes	..	..	..	Yes	..	..	..	13.4
13. TEXAS, Bexar County School for Girls	..[l]	..	..	19	..	23	23	..	Yes	..	..	..	Yes	..	12	18	16
14. TEXAS, Harris County School for Girls	2.1	19	17	..	..	10	127	20	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	..	18[m]	14.7
Private Control																	
15. SOUTH CAROLINA, Fairwold Industrial School for Colored Girls	..[n]	1	1	..	..	1	27	1	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	12	16	13.9
16. FLORIDA, Florida Industrial Home for Colored Girls	..[l]	..	..	..	..	4[o]	7[o]	..	Yes	..	..	..	Yes[p]	..	10	21	14.8
17. ALABAMA, Girls' Rescue Home (for Colored Girls)	..[l]	..	..	..	..	6	7	..	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	..[q]	..[q]	14
18. TEXAS, Dorcas Home for Colored Girls	..[j]	..[j]	7	1	..	6	4	..[j]	..	Yes	..	Yes	..	..	12	16	12

[a] Counting no girl more than once.
[b] Minimum and maximum ages on commitment fixed by law or by ruling of Board.
[c] Estimated.
[d] Private commitment permitted, but no such cases at time of study.
[e] A girl received from a private source could not be removed without the superintendent's approval. All court commitments were for indeterminate periods.
[f] No girls received directly from parents, but some came from the State Department of Public Welfare without court action.
[g] Received from private sources for temporary care; all court commitments indeterminate.
[h] Girls might be sent by the State Board of Public Welfare without court action.
[j] Data not available.
[k] Many paroled because of lack of funds.
[l] No girls yet paroled.
[m] For delinquent girls; age limits for dependent girls, 10 to 16 years.
[n] Only two girls yet paroled.
[o] Data for six months only.
[p] Not often in practice.
[q] Not yet determined.

TABLE 7.—COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY—*continued*

III. MIDWESTERN SECTION—PART 1, GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS

School	Year of founding	Statistics for fiscal year ending in	Grounds		Value of buildings and equipment	Amount of endowment	Total value of all property	Type of housing	Normal capacity[a]	Beds found			Value of property per bed (normal capacity)
			Acres	Value						In single rooms	In dormitories[b]	Total	
State Control													
1. Ohio, Girls' Industrial School	1869	1922	189	$18,900	$783,367	..	$802,267	Cottage[c]	430	309	95	404	$1,866
2. Indiana, Indiana Girls' School	1869[d]	1922	128	10,925	472,372	..	483,297	Cottage	293	337	..	337	1,649
3. Michigan, State Industrial Home for Girls	1879	1922	113[e]	18,000	394,364	..	412,364	Cottage	302	315	..	315	1,365
4. Illinois, State Training School for Girls	1893	1922	260	42,000	588,108	..	630,108	Cottage	352	348	45	393	1,790
5. Wisconsin, Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls	1875[f]	1921	9	100,320	160,300	$13,500	274,120	Cottage[g]	184	225	30	255[h]	1,490
6. Minnesota, Home School for Girls	1907[j]	1921	600[k]	76,000	557,214	..	633,214	Cottage	253	192	88[l]	280[l]	2,503
7. Iowa, Training School for Girls	1868[m]	1922	175	35,000	267,903	..	302,903	Cottage	113	64	144	208	2,681
8. Nebraska, Girls' Industrial School	1891[n]	1922	70	15,750	191,781	..	207,531	Congregate	149	..	175	175[o]	1,393
9. Nebraska, Nebraska Industrial Home	1887	1922	38	11,250	142,750	..	154,000	Combination	84	4	95[p]	99[p]	1,833
10. Missouri, Industrial Home for Negro Girls	1909	1922	165	12,800	100,000	..	112,800	Congregate	97	1	85	86	1,163
11. Missouri, State Industrial Home for Girls	1887	1922	69	25,000	375,000	..	400,000	Combination	147	78	92	170	2,721
12. Kansas, State Industrial School for Girls	1888[q]	1922	200	20,000	176,000	..	196,000	Combination	159	45	154	199	1,233
13. Oklahoma, State Industrial School for Girls	1917	1921	160	5,000	100,000	..	105,000	Cottage	77	..	104	104[r]	1,364
14. Oklahoma, Oklahoma Industrial Home for Colored Girls	1920	1921	5	250	30,000	..	30,250	Cottage	40	..	30	30	756
County Control													
15. Ohio, Opportunity Farm for Girls	1915[s]	1921	130	36,000	214,415	..	250,415	Cottage	83	66	9	75	3,017
16. Ohio, Girls' Farm of Cleveland	1914	1921	5	6,000	15,000	..	21,000	Cottage	32	..	38	38	656
17. Minnesota, Hennepin County Home School for Girls	1915	1920	9	..[t]	..[t]	..	..[t]	Cottage	14	..	17	17	..
18. Minnesota, Ramsey County Girls' Home School	1912	1920	2	..[u]	..[u]	..	24,850	Cottage	29	13	13	26	857
19. Missouri, Jackson County Parental Home for Girls	1912	1922	84	20,000	80,000	..	100,000	Cottage	51	..	59	59[v]	1,961
Private Control													
20. Illinois, Chicago Home for Girls	1865	1922	..[w]	50,000	22,000	100,000	172,000	Congregate	44	28	34[x]	62[x]	3,909

[a] Normal capacity has been calculated according to amount of floor space and ventilation.

[b] Includes sleeping porches in regular use.

[c] School was built on the cottage plan, but some units were large; one cottage housed 71 girls.

[d] Under the same roof with the Women's Prison until separate institution was opened in 1907.

[e] In addition 22 acres rented.

[f] Became a state institution in 1917.

[g] Four of the five units were large; some 50 girls were living in each of two, and more than 60 in each of two others.

[h] Institution planned to give a single room to each girl. At time of study, additional cots were in use in some rooms.

[j] Formerly girls were cared for with boys in state institution founded in 1867.

[k] In addition 1200 acres rented.

[l] Includes 15 beds for babies. In addition, 12 girls occupied four attics, and five girls slept in four halls.

[m] Established as a state reform school for both boys and girls in Lee County, but at first only boys were cared for. In 1873 the boys were moved to Eldora, and a school for girls organized in the original buildings. In 1880, the girls' school was moved to the present site.

[n] State institution for boys and girls established in 1879.

[o] In addition six girls slept in dressing room, one girl in bathroom, and one in matron's room.

[p] Includes 28 cribs for babies.

[q] Established as private institution; taken over by state in following year.

[r] In addition 10 cots were placed in two halls at night.

[s] Girls previously cared for with boys in House of Refuge, established in 1850.

[t] Property and furnishings rented for $1800 per year.

[u] Data not available.

[v] At the time of study, many single beds were occupied by two girls.

[w] Institution occupies almost a city block.

[x] Includes seven baby cribs.

TABLE 7.—COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY—*continued*

III. MIDWESTERN SECTION—PART 2, CURRENT EXPENSES, EMPLOYES AND WARDS

School	Current expense		General salaries		Teachers' salaries[a]		Number on staff	Per cent of staff with tenure of				Wards in institution				
	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita		More than 10 years	5 to 10 years	1 to 5 years	Less than 1 year	When year began	Received during year	Total within year	Average during year	Average per worker
State Control																
1. OHIO, Girls' Industrial School	$144,284	$302	$45,200	$95	$7,200	$15	89	19	10	28	43	449	428	877	478	5.4
2. INDIANA, Indiana Girls' School	132,011	364	38,118	105	6,306	17	64	8	12	39	41	368	138	506	363	5.7
3. MICHIGAN, State Industrial Home for Girls	204,147	767	76,923	289	5,621	21	73	4	4	28	64	246	152	398	266	3.6
4. ILLINOIS, State Training School for Girls	212,558	516	73,826	179	9,793	24	93	7	20	48	25	410	335	745	412	4.4
5. WISCONSIN, Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls	61,801	258	12,199	51	5,367	22	33	16	16	39	29	235	181	416	240	7.3
6. MINNESOTA, Home School for Girls	221,460	624	48,502	137	12,316	35	66	9	11	41	39	328	231	559	355[b]	5.4
7. IOWA, Training School for Girls	110,049	618	27,543	155	3,732	21	42	11	11	78	..	185	101	286	178	4.2
8. NEBRASKA, Girls' Industrial School	49,944	306	13,835	85	1,080	7	18	..	5	38	57	143	82	225	163	9.1
9. NEBRASKA, Nebraska Industrial Home	30,865	322	8,859	92	0	0	11	8	8	42	42	51	54	105	96[c]	.7
10. MISSOURI, Industrial Home for Negro Girls	36,646	482	9,125	120	1,140	15	15	..	18	47	35	76	28	104	76	5.1
11. MISSOURI, State Industrial Home for Girls	116,431[d]	491	38,627[d]	163	5,640[d]	24	50	11	42	34	13	239	112	351	237	4.7
12. KANSAS, State Industrial School for Girls	71,788	384	22,347	120	3,780	20	32	6	..	23	71	180	79	259	187	5.8
13. OKLAHOMA, State Industrial School for Girls	43,575	415	8,967	85	2,700	26	11	..	..	40	60	101	57	158	105	9.5
14. OKLAHOMA, Oklahoma Industrial Home for Colored Girls	10,000[d]	588	3,540	208	0	0	4[e]	25	..	25	50	6	16	22	17[f]	4.2
County Control																
15. OHIO, Opportunity Farm for Girls	27,316	434	11,887	189	..[g]	..	18[g]	..	21	50	29	56	37	93	63	3.5
16. OHIO, Girls' Farm of Cleveland	12,488[h]	403[h]	2,566	83	..[g]	..	5[g]	..	..	60	40	32	34	66	31	6.2
17. MINNESOTA, Hennepin County Home School for Girls	11,047	552	4,356	218	1,095	55	6	..	..	83	17	17	74	91	20	3.3
18. MINNESOTA, Ramsey County Girls' Home School	8,752	583	2,640	176	..[j]	..	3[j]	50	50	..	..	22	48	70	15	5.0
19. MISSOURI, Jackson County Parental Home for Girls	28,698	410	9,595	137	..[g]	..	10[g]	..	..	45	55	65	79	144	70	7.0
Private Control																
20. ILLINOIS, Chicago Home for Girls	38,976	591	13,331	202	300[k]	5	18	8	..	46	46	70	55	125	66[l]	3.7

[a] Teachers' salaries include salaries for academic and music teachers and for recreation directors.
[b] Includes 334 girls and 21 babies. Per capita expense computed using this average.
[c] Includes 60 girls and 36 babies. Per capita expense computed using this average.
[d] Approximate.
[e] One of the four, the superintendent, was in charge of other groups besides delinquent girls.
[f] Estimated as 15 girls and 2 babies. Per capita expense computed using this average.
[g] Salaries of two teachers, included in number on staff, paid by City Board of Education.
[h] Probably includes some capital expenditures.
[j] Salary of the one teacher, included in number on staff, paid by City Board of Education.
[k] Salary of music teacher; three other teachers, included in number on staff, paid by City Board of Education.
[l] Includes 52 girls and 14 babies. Per capita expense computed using this average.

TABLE 7.—COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY—*continued*

III. MIDWESTERN SECTION—PART 3, PAROLES AND COMMITMENTS OF WARDS

School	Average stay before parole (years)	Number of wards							Kind of commitment			Period of commitment			Age on commitment (years)		
		On parole when year began	Paroled during year[a]	Returned to court[a]	Died	Other disposition[a]	In school at close of year	On parole at close of year	Court alone	Court and private	Private alone	All indeterminate	Some indeterminate	All fixed or temporary	Minimum[b]	Maximum[b]	Average
State Control																	
1. Ohio, Girls' Industrial School	1.1	551	354	5	1	5	512	657	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	9	18	15.9
2. Indiana, Indiana Girls' School	2.2	81	72	16	..	85	333	72	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	10	18	15
3. Michigan, State Industrial Home for Girls	2.0	44	135	3	1	2	257	126	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	10	17	15
4. Illinois, State Training School for Girls	1.6	679	241	..	..	107[c]	397	679	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	..	18	15.3
5. Wisconsin, Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls	2.6	128	156	..	1	11	248	143	..	Yes	..	..	Yes[d]	..	..	18	15
6. Minnesota, Home School for Girls	1.5	301	228	..	..	34	297	340	..	Yes	..	..	Yes[e]	..	8[f]	18[f]	15.9
7. Iowa, Training School for Girls	2.5	74	43	2	1	32	208	59	..	Yes	..	Yes	..	..	8	18	15
8. Nebraska, Girls' Industrial School	2.1	51	44	..	..	8	173	74	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	..	18	14
9. Nebraska, Nebraska Industrial Home	1.0	..[g]	..[g]	..	..	50[h]	55	..[g]	..	Yes[j]	..	..	..	Yes	..	..	17
10. Missouri, Industrial Home for Negro Girls	2.4	14	..	..	..	18[h]	86	12	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	7	21	14.6
11. Missouri, State Industrial Home for Girls	2.0	15	34	1	..	66[k]	250	34	Yes	..	..	..	Yes	..	7	21	16
12. Kansas, State Industrial School for Girls	1.5	43	74	..	..	..	185	42	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	8	18	13.4
13. Oklahoma, State Industrial School for Girls	1.5	15[l]	45	..	..	5	108	56	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	..	18	14.7
14. Oklahoma, Oklahoma Industrial Home for Colored Girls	1.0[m]	..	6	..	..	..	16	6	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	..	16	..[n]
County Control																	
15. Ohio, Opportunity Farm for Girls	1.3	36	21	..	..	6	66	53	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	..	18	14.5
16. Ohio, Girls' Farm of Cleveland	0.9	25[o]	23[o]	10	..	3	30	24	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	12	18	14.9
17. Minnesota, Hennepin County Home School for Girls	0.3	29	52[p]	..	..	12[p]	27	25	Yes[q]	..	..	..	Yes	..	..	18	15
18. Minnesota, Ramsey County Girls' Home School	..[n]	..[n]	..[r]	..[r]	..	..[r]	..[n]	[n]	Yes	..	..	..	Yes	..	..	18	13
19. Missouri, Jackson County Parental Home for Girls	1.0[m]	38	47[s]	..	..	29	68	[n]	Yes	..	..	..	..	Yes	6	16	13
Private Control																	
20. Illinois, Chicago Home for Girls	1.1	..[n]	4	1	..	58[t]	62	..	..	Yes	..	..	Yes[u]	..	..	18	15.8

[a] Counting no girl more than once.
[b] Minimum and maximum ages on commitment fixed by law or by ruling of Board.
[c] 77 were discharged.
[d] All court commitments were indeterminate. Girls were sometimes received directly from parents or guardians for temporary care.
[e] All Juvenile Court commitments were indeterminate; Federal courts committed girls for temporary care; girls received without court action were "surrendered."
[f] The legal specifications; in practice girls were received from 6 to 20 years.
[g] No parole system.
[h] All discharged.
[j] At time of study, no girls committed by court were in care, usually a few were.
[k] 60 were discharged.
[l] On parole July 1, 1920; number for earlier date not available.
[m] Estimate.
[n] Data not available.
[o] Under supervision of court probation officers.
[p] All girls upon leaving the institution were returned to court, which arranged paroles, transfers, etc. Girls on parole supervised by county probation officers.
[q] All girls received from the Juvenile Court, but some without commitment.
[r] All girls returned to court for disposition.
[s] No real parole system. Superintendent attempted to supervise girls who left institution before the end of their terms, until they were discharged.
[t] 40 released on leaving institution.
[u] All court commitments were indeterminate; girls received from parents or guardians accepted for temporary care but never for less than one year.

TABLE 7.—COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY—*continued*

IV. MOUNTAIN AND COAST SECTION—PART 1, GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS

School	Year of founding	Statistics for fiscal year ending in	Grounds		Value of buildings and equipment	Amount of endowment	Total value of all property	Type of housing	Normal capacity[a]	Beds found			Value of property per bed (normal capacity)
			Acres	Value						In single rooms	In dormitories[b]	Total	
State Control													
1. MONTANA, Vocational School for Girls	1919[c]	1921[d]	240	$24,000	$19,000	..	$43,000	Cottage	15	3	33	36	$2,867
2. COLORADO, State Industrial School for Girls	1895	1922	50	15,000	313,725	..	328,725	Cottage	165	102	51	153[e]	1,992
3. NEW MEXICO, Girls' Welfare Home	1919	1921	52	10,000	15,000	..	25,000	Cottage	12	..	9	9	2,083
4. CALIFORNIA, California School for Girls	1913[f]	1921	125	22,837	349,292	..	372,129	Cottage	189	20[g]	164	184	1,969
5. OREGON, State Industrial School for Girls	1913	1921	70	14,000	105,000[h]	$500	119,500	Cottage	30	29	2	31	3,983
6. WASHINGTON, State School for Girls	1913[j]	1921	200	25,522	195,120	..	220,642	Cottage	108	88	40	128	2,043
County Control													
7. CALIFORNIA, El Retiro	1919	1921	10	20,000	30,000	..	50,000	Cottage[k]	41	11	32	43	1,220

[a] Normal capacity has been calculated according to amount of floor space and ventilation.

[b] Includes sleeping porches in regular use.

[c] Prior to this both boys and girls were cared for in state institution at Miles City, founded in 1893. Girls moved in April, 1920.

[d] Statistics for 11 months only.

[e] In addition three beds in use in hall.

[f] Legislature made appropriation for school in 1913. In January, 1914, a new Board of Trustees assumed control of the girls' department of the Whittier State School. In June, 1916, the girls were moved to the new school for girls.

[g] Ten of these were cells in "No Privilege Cottage."

[h] Includes second cottage, under construction at time of visit.

[j] Opened in 1914; prior to this, girls were cared for with boys in state institution at Chehalis.

[k] Many girls slept in "tent-cottages" containing one or two beds each. There were a central dining room, a kitchen, and a laundry.

TABLE 7.—COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY—*continued*

IV. MOUNTAIN AND COAST SECTION—PART 2, EMPLOYES AND WARDS

School	Current expense		General salaries		Teachers' salaries[a]		Number on staff	Per cent of staff with tenure of				Wards in institution				
	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita		More than 10 years	5 to 10 years	1 to 5 years	Less than 1 year	When year began	Received during year	Total within year	Average during year	Average per worker
State Control																
1. MONTANA, Vocational School for Girls	$11,870[b]	$1,978	$6,460	$1,077	$220	$37	6	..	..	67	33	6	27	33	6	1.1
2. COLORADO, State Industrial School for Girls	67,011	459	23,930	164	3,000	21	28	14	31	41	14	137	80	217	146	5.2
3. NEW MEXICO, Girls' Welfare Home	6,872	859	2,881	360	0	0	2	..	..	50	50	5	11	16	8	4.0
4. CALIFORNIA, California School for Girls	132,753	873	50,919	335	10,792	71	70	..	5	20	75	149	78	227	152	2.2
5. OREGON, State Industrial School for Girls	21,869	377	6,900	119	745	13	10	..	..	44	56	38	31	69	58	5.8
6. WASHINGTON, State School for Girls	59,619	528	17,569	155	3,310	29	24	..	4	58	38	112	96	208	113	4.7
County Control																
7. CALIFORNIA, El Retiro	17,637	464	6,417	169	[c]	[c]	6[c]	..	..	40	60	26	50	76	38	6.3

[a] Teachers' salaries include salaries for academic and music teachers and for recreation directors.
[b] For 11 months; institution was being built and equipped during this period.
[c] One teacher, paid by the City Board of Education, included in staff of six.

TABLE 7.—COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY—*continued*

IV. MOUNTAIN AND COAST SECTION—PART 3, PAROLES AND COMMITMENTS OF WARDS

School	Average stay before parole (years)	Number of wards							Kind of commitment			Period of commitment			Age on commitment (years)		
		On parole when year began	Paroled during year[a]	Returned to court[a]	Died	Other disposition[a]	In school at close of year	On parole at close of year	Court alone	Court and private	Private alone	All indeterminate	Some indeterminate	All fixed or temporary	Minimum[b]	Maximum[b]	Average
State Control																	
1. MONTANA, Vocational School for Girls	..[c]	27[d]	2	..	..	..	31	27	Yes	..	..	..	Yes	..	8	18	16
2. COLORADO, State Industrial School for Girls	1.5	71	60	2	..	2	153	53	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	6	18	14.4
3. NEW MEXICO, Girls' Welfare Home	..[e]	..	3	..	..	6	7	3	Yes	..	..	..	Yes	..	..	18	14.7
4. CALIFORNIA, California School for Girls	2.1	61	54	10	1	10	152	65	Yes	..	..	..	Yes	..	8	19[f]	16.2
5. OREGON, State Industrial School for Girls	0.5	8	26	8	..	2	33	12	Yes	..	..	..	Yes	..	12	25[g]	15
6. WASHINGTON, State School for Girls	1.9	138	77	..	..	11	120	144	Yes	..	..	Yes	..	..	10	18	15.6
County Control																	
7. CALIFORNIA, El Retiro	0.5	..[h]	12	8	..	16	40	..[h]	Yes[j]	..	..	..	Yes	..	12	18	15.9

[a] Counting no girl more than once.
[b] Minimum and maximum ages on commitment fixed by law or by ruling of Board.
[c] Only two girls had yet been paroled from this school.
[d] All but two paroled from institution at Miles City.
[e] Only three girls had yet been paroled from this school.
[f] A girl over 19 years of age might be committed for a fixed term of two years.
[g] No girl over 20 years actually in care at time of study.
[h] Data not available.
[j] Juvenile court made "placements," instead of "commitments."

TABLE 7.—COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY—*continued*

V. SUMMARY—PART 1, GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS

Section	Number of schools	Grounds		Value of buildings and equipment	Amount of endowment	Total value of all property	Normal capacity	Beds found			Value of property per bed (normal capacity)
		Acres	Value					In single rooms	In dormitories	Total	
Eastern	12	1,516	$356,085	$2,976,030	$80,257	$3,412,372	1,698	1,396	574	1,970	$2,010*
Southern	18	2,966	282,617	1,435,087	952	1,724,156	1,113	573	599	1,172	1,549*
Midwestern	20	2,411	503,195	4,670,574	113,500	5,312,119	2,933	2,025	1,307	3,332	1,811*
Mountain and Coast	7	747	131,359	1,027,137	500	1,158,996	560	253	331	584	2,070*
Total	57	7,640	$1,273,256	$10,108,828	$195,209	$11,607,643	6,304	4,247	2,811	7,058	$1,841*

PART 2, CURRENT EXPENSES, EMPLOYES AND WARDS

Section	Number of schools	Current expense		General salaries		Teachers' salaries		Number on staff	Wards in institutions				Average per worker
		Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita		When year began	Received during year	Total within year	Average during year	
Eastern	12	$987,783	$519*	$327,023	$172*	$40,178	$21*	444	1,913	972	2,885	1,905	4.3*
Southern	18	461,431	428*	129,405	120*	25,466	24*	192	986	713	1,699	1,079	5.6*
Midwestern	20	1,572,836	457*	471,986	137*	66,070	19*	661	3,279	2,321	5,600	3,438	5.2*
Mountain and Coast	7	317,631	610*	115,076	221*	18,067	35*	146	473	373	846	521	3.6*
Total	57	$3,339,681	$481*	$1,043,490	$150*	$149,781	$22*	1,443	6,651	4,379	11,030	6,943	4.8*

PART 3, PAROLES AND COMMITMENTS OF WARDS

Section	Number of schools	Average stay before parole (years)	Number of wards							Age on commitment (years)		
			On parole when year began	Paroled during year	Returned to court	Died	Other disposition	In school at close of year	On parole at close of year	Minimum	Maximum	Average
Eastern	12	1.5 to 4.1	1,601	793	51	3	213	1,825	1,589	7 to 12	16 to 21	13 to 16
Southern	18	0.7 to 3.0	400	347	33	2	166	1,151	553	7 to 12	16 to 21	12 to 16
Midwestern	20	0.3 to 2.6	2,124	1,579	38	4	531	3,378	2,402	6 to 12	16 to 21	13 to 16
Mountain and Coast	7	0.5 to 2.1	305	234	28	1	47	536	304	6 to 12	18 to 25	14 to 16
Total	57	..	4,430	2,953	150	10	957	6,890	4,848	..	..	..

NOTE: Figures marked with an asterisk do not show typical sectional differences. They are arithmetic averages and are unduly influenced by large and by untypical schools. For geographical comparisons, see tables and discussion; for example, pp. 167–171.

3420-820-1M

This report to be made promptly at the close of each month to the State Board of Control, Austin, Texas.

MOVEMENT OF POPULATION

.....
(INSTITUTION)

Month....., 192.....

EMPLOYES					INMATES			
EMPLOYES ON PAY ROLL LAST DAY OF MONTH	Employes		Average Inmates to one Emp.	Amount of Salaries Each Class of Employes	SUMMARY OF MONTH	Male	Female	TOTAL
	Not Inmates	Inmates						
Superintendents and assts.					Population close last month			
Physicians					Admitted			
Attendants and nurses					From Escape			
Housekeepers and matrons					" Furlough			
					TOTAL			
Teachers					Discharged			
Office employes					Paroled or furloughed			
Kitchen and bakery employes					Escaped			
					Died			
					TOTAL			
Dining Room employes					Population close this month			
Laundry employes								
Engine and fire room employes					Absent without leave last of month			
					Present last of month			
Farm, garden and grounds employes					Absent with leave this date			
					Present, this date			
Shop employes					TOTAL ON ROLLS			
Construction and repair employes					POPULATION AND AVERAGES	Total Present and Absent this date	Total Present this date	Average Present for Month
					Officers and Employes			
Other employes					Inmates			
TOTAL OF PAY ROLL					TOTAL POPULATION			

Of the total number of Officers and Employes on Pay Roll, how many board at Institution?.....

Of the total number of Officers and Employes' families not on Pay Roll, how many board at Institution?.....

.....

MONTHLY REPORT OF MOVEMENT OF POPULATION MADE TO THE STATE BOARD OF CONTROL: GIRLS' TRAINING SCHOOL, GAINESVILLE, TEXAS (Size 8½ by 11 inches)

DATE OF COMMITMENT_____ **SUMMARY** NO._____

VERIFIED OR RELIABLE INFORMATION

NAME DATE OF BIRTH

COMPLAINT

JUDGE CITY COUNTY

SOCIAL HISTORY

BIRTHPLACE RACE COLOR

SINGLE: MARRIED: WHEN WHERE

SCHOOL HISTORY: READ AND WRITE (INDICATE LANGUAGE)

AGE STARTING NO. OF YEARS IN SCHOOL

AGE LEAVING GRADE REACHED

CONDUCT IN SCHOOL

WORK HISTORY: AGE STARTING WORK:

DATES	KIND OF WORK	EMPLOYER AND ADDRESS	WAGE	ABILITY

HISTORY OF DELINQUENCY: (COURT CONVICTIONS, CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER) AGE FIRST CONVICTION:

DATE	OFFENSE	SENTENCE

SEX HISTORY: AGE FIRST OFFENSE REASON

DEGREE OF SEX IRREGULARITY

OTHER DELINQUENCIES NOT OF COURT RECORD

HOME CONDITIONS

HEREDITARY FACTORS OF IMPORTANCE

MENTAL STATUS

PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATION: DATE RESULTS

TRAITS AND CONDUCT

PHYSICAL CONDITION

WASSERMANN

SUMMARY OF PHYSICAL EXAMINATION

Face

SUMMARY (VERIFIED OR RELIABLE INFORMATION)—SOCIAL HISTORY SHEET: SLEIGHTON FARM, DARLINGTON, PENNSYLVANIA (Size 8½ by 11 inches)

VERIFIED FAMILY DATA

RELATIVE	NAME	ADDRESS	AGE	BIRTHPLACE	EDUCATION	OCCUPATION	SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS
FATHER							
MOTHER							
SIBS 1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.							
7.							
OTHER RELATIVES							

INTERESTED PERSONS OR INFORMANTS	ADDRESS	CONTACT WITH GIRL

Reverse

SUMMARY (VERIFIED OR RELIABLE INFORMATION)—SOCIAL HISTORY SHEET: SLEIGHTON FARM, DARLINGTON, PENNSYLVANIA (Size 8½ by 11 inches)

STATEMENT OF GIRL

DATE OF COMMITMENT _____ No. _____

DATE OF INTERVIEW _____ INTERVIEWER _____

NAME ALIAS LAST ADDRESS

AGE	BIRTHPLACE	TIME IN U. S.	SINGLE MARRIED (WHEN)
BIRTH DATE	RACE COLOR	TIME IN STATE	RELIGION (WHERE)

PREVIOUS ADDRESSES (CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)

DATES	ADDRESS	WITH WHOM LIVING (INDICATE RELATIONSHIP, IF ANY)	RENT OR BOARD

SCHOOL HISTORY

ENGLISH SPEAKING	AGE STARTING SCHOOL	GRADE REACHED
READ AND WRITE (INDICATE LANGUAGE)	AGE LEAVING SCHOOL	REASON FOR LEAVING
ADDRESS LAST SCHOOL	NO. YEARS IN SCHOOL	REGULARITY OF ATTENDANCE

LATER SCHOOLING (INDICATE SPECIAL TRAINING WITH ADDRESS OF SCHOOL)

WORK HISTORY (GIVE EACH PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.) AGE STARTING WORK

KIND OF WORK	EMPLOYER	ADDRESS	DATES OF EMPLOYMENT	WEEKLY WAGE	REASON FOR LEAVING AND REMARKS
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					

HISTORY OF DELINQUENCY (COURT RECORD—CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)

DATE	CITY	COMPLAINT	DISPOSITION

SEX HISTORY

FIRST SEX INSTRUCTION: WHEN FROM WHOM

AGE FIRST SEX OFFENSE REASON

LATER SEX OFFENSE REASON RECEIVED MONEY

OTHER SEX PRACTICES (MASTURBATION, HOMO-SEXUAL RELATIONS, ETC.)

DELINQUENCY NOT OF COURT RECORD (STEALING, ETC.)

INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY (NON-PENAL INSTITUTIONS, AS ORPHANAGES, HOSPITALS, ETC.—CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)

INSTITUTION	DATES	ATTITUDE TOWARDS INSTITUTIONAL EXPERIENCE

AGENCIES INTERESTED

HOME CONDITIONS

LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN HOME

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

MORAL STANDARDS

ATTITUDE TOWARD FAMILY

Face

STATEMENT OF GIRL: SLEIGHTON FARM, DARLINGTON, PENNSYLVANIA (Size 8½ by 11 inches)

FAMILY HISTORY

RELATIVE	NAME	ADDRESS	AGE	BIRTHPLACE	EDUCATION	OCCUPATION	SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS
FATHER							
MOTHER							
SIBS 1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.							
7.							
HUSBAND							
CHILDREN							
OTHER RELATIVES							

STATUS OF PARENTS	DEAD	SEPARATED	DESERTED	IN INSTITUTION	STEP	OTHER INDICATE
FATHER						
MOTHER						

SIGNIFICANT HEREDITARY FACTORS

SUPPLEMENTARY FACTS

Reverse

STATEMENT OF GIRL: SLEIGHTON FARM, DARLINGTON, PENNSYLVANIA (Size 8½ by 11 inches)

HOME CARD.

NAME AGE DATE ADMITTED

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING.

Laundry

Domestic Science

Gen. Housework

Plain Sewing

Dressmaking

Embroidery and Raffia

Gardening

Remarks

Face

SCHOOL WORK.

Grade when admitted

From what school

Advancement in school

Business course

Music

Gymnastics

Remarks

CONDUCT.

1-3 mos.	13-15 mos.
4-6 mos.	16-18 mos.
7-9 mos.	19-21 mos.
10-12 mos.	21-24 mos.

Reverse

HOME CARD SHOWING CHANGING CLASSIFICATIONS: HARRIS COUNTY SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, BELLAIRE, TEXAS (Size 5 by 8 inches)

GIRLS' PAROLE BRANCH

MASSACHUSETTS TRAINING SCHOOLS

ALMEDA F. CREE, *Supt.* 41 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.

APPLICATION FOR GIRL

Please fill out and return to Almeda F. Cree, 41 Mt. Vernon St. Boston, Mass.

Date,

1. Your first name.
2. Your husband's full name.
3. Address.
4. Please give full directions for reaching your home.
5. How long have you lived in town?
   Address of your former residence?
6. Your telephone number or nearest telephone.
7. Ages of your sons.
   daughters.
8. Who else lives in your home?
9. Have you now, or at any time of year, lodgers or boarders?
   men?
   women?
10. Have you now, or at any time of year, a hired man?
11. Do you have a whole house? or apartment?
    upper?
    lower?
12. What is your husband's business?
13. If employed, name and business address of employer.
14. What church do you attend?
15. Could the girl go to church with an adult of your family?

(over)

Face

16. Are any alcoholic beverages used in your home?
17. What are the largest wages that you would pay for a capable girl?
18. Do you wish her to wash and iron?
19. Do you wish her to cook?
20. Would she have the care of children?
21. Would the girl be treated in general as a member of the family?
22. Would you take a mother and baby?
23. Would you take a colored girl?
24. Would you take a school girl? Grammar? High?
25. How far is your home from the school?
26. What is your doctor's name and address?
27. What is your pastor's name and address?
28. Please give us three other references, not relatives.

29. Have you ever had a girl from any other society?
30. What society?
31. Have you ever applied to us before? If so, when?
32. What led you to apply to us?
33. How long will you wait for a girl, if we have not a suitable one for you now?

It is essential that a girl fitted as nearly as possible for the particular place and adaptable to the particular conditions be selected. If you procure a girl from elsewhere please notify us.

YOU ARE EXPECTED TO PAY THE GIRL'S CARFARE TO YOUR HOME AND FOR THE TRANSPORTATION OF HER TRUNK.

Reverse

APPLICATION FOR GIRL: GIRLS' PAROLE BRANCH, MASSACHUSETTS TRAINING SCHOOLS. BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS (Size 8½ by 11 inches)

APPLICATION FOR PAROLE NO.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL For GIRLS

Name of Girl
Date of Birth
Date of Commitment
Application made by
(Person) (Letter)
Address

To be considered
Application taken by
Date
Date of last petition
Present address of parents

REASONS FOR APPLICATION

REPORT BY SUPERINTENDENT OF INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

Conduct in Industrial School
Course finished
Mental examination
Date
Progress?

Date
Needs further training
Needs further discipline
Needs further medical treatment?

REPORT OF HOME INVESTIGATION Date
Made by

ACTION OF TRUSTEES Recorded by Date

APPLICATION FOR PAROLE: INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, LANCASTER, MASSACHUSETTS (Size 8½ by 11 inches)

MAKE CHECK PAYABLE TO
ALMEDA F. CREE, Supt.

GIRLS' PAROLE BRANCH
MASSACHUSETTS TRAINING SCHOOLS
41 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.

EMPLOYER'S MONTHLY REPORT

EMPLOYER.....

.....

.....

REPORT OF MONTH ENDED.....

GIRL.....

VISITOR.....

STATEMENT

BALANCE FROM PREVIOUS STATEMENT . . . . . $.....

WAGES DUE:

from.....192

to.....192 . . . . . $.....

*TOTAL AMOUNT DUE GIRL . . . . . $.....

CASH PAID GIRL FOR ALLOWANCE
OR WHEN SHE HANDLES HER OWN MONEY . . $.....

AMOUNT EXPENDED FOR GIRL, AS SHOWN OPPOSITE . .....

AMOUNT SENT TO OFFICE FOR DEPOSIT IN BANK . . ..

BALANCE ON HAND . . . .

*TOTAL . . . . . $.....

*THESE TOTALS MUST AGREE

Please include in your first check the girl's carfare from Boston to your home unless you have previously paid it.

Do not charge to the girl on this statement the transportation of her trunk to your home.

MONEY EXPENDED FOR GIRL

DATE	DETAIL	AMOUNT	

Girls' Parole Branch 41 Mt. Vernon St., Boston

REPORT ON PLACE

Name: Date:
Address: Visitor:
Telephone:
Directions:

Family consists of,
Religion:

Home:

Girl's Room:

Girl's Work:

Wages:

Recreation:

Visitor's Impression:

Report on Place: Girls' Parole Branch, Massachusetts Training Schools, Boston, Massachusetts (Size 8½ by 11 inches)

HOSPITAL, TEXAS GIRLS' TRAINING SCHOOL

Name							Age	Diagnosis
Date	Time	T	P	R	U	S	Medicine	Remarks

Doctor's Orders

Medical Sheet: Girls' Training School, Gainesville, Texas (Size 8½ by 11 inches)

TEXAS GIRLS' TRAINING SCHOOL

Hospital _____ Date _____

NAME _____ Age _____ S M W _____ Children _____

Vulvo Vaginal Exam. _____ Personal History _____

Diag. _____

PHYS. EXAM.			LABORATORY	TREATMENT
ABDOMEN				
Inguinal glands				
LABIA MINORA				
Clitoris				
Urethra				
U. glands				
Vulvo-vag. glands				
Hymen				
VAGINA				
Discharge				
Mucous membrane				
CERVIX				
Lacerations				
Erosions				SUMMARY
Cysts				
Discharge				
Inflammation				
UTERUS				
Size				
Position				
ADENEXA				
CONDYLOMA				

Form 2C-H101-221-500

GYNECOLOGICAL SHEET: GIRLS' TRAINING SCHOOL, GAINESVILLE, TEXAS (Size 8½ by 9 inches)

THE STATE OF INDIANA
MENTAL CLINIC RECORD

.....SCHOOL CLINIC No.....

Name
School Grade
Parents' name
Parents' address

Reasons for examination

Date of birth
Age
Mental age
I. Q.

Diagnosis

Advice given

Date of examination:
Examiner

INDIANA MENTAL CLINIC RECORD (Size 8½ by 11 inches)

THE STATE OF INDIANA
MENTAL CLINIC RECORD
FIELDS OF INQUIRY—SYNOPSIS OF FINDINGS

Name Age Date No.
Height Weight Circum.

1. Physical Examination:
2. Family History:
3. Personal and Developmental History:
4. History of School Progress:
5. Examination in School Work:
6. Practical Knowledge:
7. Economic Efficiency:
8. Social History and Reaction:
9. Moral Reaction:
10. Psychological Tests:

INDIANA MENTAL CLINIC RECORD: FIELDS OF INQUIRY—SYNOPSIS OF FINDINGS
(Size 8½ by 11 inches)

Form C—7-22—5M
PRESS O S R

DELAWARE OHIO
THE GIRLS' INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL
CONDUCT REPORT

COTTAGE No. NAME YEAR

MONTH	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Obedience																															
Truthfulness																															
Self-Control																															
Clean Mindedness																															
Respectfulness																															
Takes Correction																															
Influence																															
Reverence																															
Cheerfulness																															
Quietness																															
Work																															
Neatness—Room																															
Neatness—Appearance																															

REMARKS: (Give full detail with date)

OFFICER'S SIGNATURE

CONDUCT REPORT: THE GIRLS' INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, DELAWARE, OHIO (Size 8½ by 14 inches)

LONG LANE FARM—HOME INVESTIGATION

Number	Name	Alias	Date of Birth (Ver)	Birthplace	Leg. or illeg.
Date of commitment		Place of com.	Of age	Color	Religion
Nativity		How long in U. S.		How long in home town	
Nativity of parents		Religion of parents		Parents divorced or separated	
Present address Previous addresses					

Family	Name	Born (yr.)	Address	Health	Occupation	Wages
Father						
Mother						
Brothers and Sisters						

No. rooms	Persons in household	Rent	Sanitary conditions	Appearance of home	
Other persons living in house		Born (yr.)	Relationship	Family income—Source	Amount

Relatives	Relationship	Address	Record

Face

Name of last school attended	Record in school	How long out of school		Last grade completed
Former employers	Address	How emp.	Wages	Dates of employment
1				
2				
3				
4				
Reason for leaving				
1				
2				
3				
4				
Religious and other affiliations				
Name of Church	Pastor		Address	
Name of Sunday School	Teacher		Address	
Other organizations			Address	
Any unusual or peculiar physical or mental condition				
References—Name	Address		How interested	

Reverse

HOME INVESTIGATION CARD: LONG LANE FARM, MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT (Size 8½ by 11 inches)

NO. NAME DATE OF COM.

OF AGE

PLACE

	BIRTHPLACE	LIVING OR DEAD	NATIONALITY	RELIGION
GIRL				
FATHER				
MOTHER				

LEGITIMATE ILLEGITIMATE OTHER INSTITUTIONS

Card of Identification of Girl, Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut (Size 3 by 5 inches)

NAME NO.

COM:

1. HISTORY TAKEN:

2. PHYSICAL EXAMINATION

WASSERMANN VACCINATION

SMEAR GLASSES

THROAT SCHICK TEST

3. MENTAL TEST TOXIN ANTITOXIN

4. DENTAL EXAMINATION

5. HOME INVESTIGATION

Card Giving Summary of Routine Tests, Examinations, etc., Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut (Size 3 by 5 inches)

No. Name Of Age:

DATE	TO WHOM	ADDRESS	OCCUPATION	SALARY OR WAGES	HEALTH	PROGRESS

Card Used for Making Brief Parole Reports, Long Lane Farm, Middletown, Connecticut

This card is the same on both sides.

APPENDIX D

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